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Pro-Cancel. *Oxon.*

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REFLEXIONS

On the

Council of *TRENT*.

By *H. C.* de *LUZANCY* Deacon of the Church of *England*, and Mr. of *Arts* of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.

Διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας, ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς.
2 Corinth. 6. 8.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Oxford, At the THEATER, 1677.

REFLEXIONS

TO

The right Reverend FATHER *in* GOD

HENRY

By Divine Providence

LORD BISHOP

OF

LONDON,

Dean of his Majeſties *Chapel-Roial,*

AND

One of his Majeſties *moſt Honorable*

PRIVY COUNCIL, *&c.*

MY LORD,

I Preſume to addreſs to your Lordſhip, a Treatiſe againſt the Council of *Trent*, that is, againſt a Conventicle of this laſt age, wherein the

ancient Faith was oppreſt by the eſtabliſhment of modern errors, and Religion crusht by the intereſts of a politic faction.

Beſides the particular obligations I have to offer to your Lordſhip the beſt of my acknowledgments, I could not have made a more ſuitable dedication of this Book, then to a branch of that Noble Family, which was ever zealous for *the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints*; and to a Biſhop of that Church, which has alwaies declar'd it ſelf againſt the unhappy policy of that See, which builds its own greatneſs upon the ruines of the ſimplicity of the Goſpel.

Theſe

These two singular qualifications, appear so eminently in the conduct of all your Lordships affairs, that to them we are to attribute that extraordinary application, whereby you answer all the ends of your high calling; and content not your self with the advantages and honor, but descend to the most laborious and difficult parts of so great a charge: that diligent and strict watch, whereby you do not only preserve your own Flock, but discover all the designs and artifices of its enemies; that unblamable conduct, which the most violent and partial of your adversaries cannot but admire: that fervent charity which directs

rests to your Lordship as to a sure refuge all them that desire to forsake either vice or error: but above all that evenness and steddiness of mind, which a [a] Father of the Church calls *the Life and Soul of Episcopacy*, wherewith Almighty God has endu'd your Lordship in so eminent a degree, that it may be lookt upon as your peculiar Character.

My Lord, it would be a noble subject to reflect upon a few late instances you have given, that you prefer your honor and conscience above all interests whatever; that you have no concern but for the welfare both of Church and State; and tho the greatness of your quality sufficiently entitles

[a] *St. Basil.*

entitles you to the highest honor that either of them can bestow; yet you owe your advancement purely to your own merit.

But My Lord, I am prevented by the acclamations of the public and the voice of the whole Nation, which by the great things you have already don is making judgment of the yet greater happiness it shall one day derive from your Lordships future undertakings. This is become the employment of persons more proportioned to such a work; and it is the utmost of my ambition to be admitted amongst the meanest of them, who are daily beseeching Almighty God, that he would still prosper your Lordship in the

accomplishment of those noble designs wherein you are happily engag'd for the good both of Church and State.

I am with all imaginable respect and duty,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships most Humble, most obedient, and most oblig'd Servant.

DE LUZANCY.

THE PREFACE.

THE occasion of these ensuing discourses which are here made public, was a Treatise entitl'd, Considerations upon the Council of Trent. Its author has manag'd his subject with so much dexterity, that I could not but judg it agreeable to that love all Christians ought to have for truth, and to my own duty in particular to dispel the mist he has attempted to cast before men's eyes.

To perform this with solidity, I thought it not so proper to rely upon any particular historian of that Council, there being but four who have treated of it, whose testimonies are not free from exception. Soavius is suspected by the Romanists, (as Palaviciny by the Protestants) tho with less justice. Scipio

Henricus *is more addicted to his Society then to his Church, and more intent to defend the Jesuits, then to justifie the proceedings of the Bishops. And for* Aquilius *his Survey* De tribus Historicis, *it is rather a Pamphlet injurious to the Church of* Rome *it self for its want of sense and learning, than a just censure. But it appeared much more easie and useful, to give a true character of the Council drawn out of its own acts, and shew such essential defects in its that all the artifice of its defenders can never satisfie a rational and impartial enquirer.*

There are two things to be consider'd in this Council: the manner wherein it was celebrated, and those points it determin'd, which later either respect articles of Faith, or reformation of manners. This order I have exactly follow'd, by endeavouring in the first discourse to evince that the manner of holding this Council was altogether irregular, and that Protestants may lawfully reject it without any further discussion of its decrees: in the second, that its decisions are contrary to the ancient Canons of the Church: and in the third, that the reformation which was then pretended to be made, was no better then a

new

new violation of Discipline, and a perfect Illusion of the World.

In these discourses I avoid the citing any authors, but such as for their learning and piety are venerable in the Church of Rome, *a design which no judicious persons can ever disapprove, since it hapens but too often that we combat men, whose sentiments their own communion disowns, and after a long and tedious disputation we receive no other answer, but that the Church of* Rome *is not bound to make good all the assertions of her privat followers.*

And indeed she would be strangely put to it, should she warrant all the dreams of Suarez, Vasquez, *and other Jesuits. Since it is easy to demonstrate, that they are more contrary to her then to us, more pernicious to their mother then to their enemies, and as a learned* [a] *Man of their communion observes, fitter to raise new Heresies, then to destroy old ones.*

There being therefore so great a difference between their doctrine, and that of their Church, I have the justice and honesty not to charge their excesses upon a communion, which notwithstanding its many errors, can-

[a] Petrus Aurel.

not

not ceaſe to be great and venerable: but the acts of Trent, *the Councils of the Catholic Church, the writings of the Fathers, and the decretal Epiſtles of the* Popes *themſelves being ſtill extant, 'tis from thence that the aſſertors or oppoſers of that Council muſt fetch their arguments.*

I make no doubt but that this writing will increaſe the hatred of my adverſaries; and I foreſee that the blackeſt colours of calumny will not be dark enough to draw my picture with. 'Tis the ordinary way of many Zealots, who make it a part of their vertue to ſlander perſons on the account of their Religion, and to perſecute them, to the end either to induce them thereby to turn back to the communion they have left, or at leaſt to diſcredit them in that which they have embraced.

No Chriſtianly affected man can ſee ſuch dealings ſo oppoſite to God's Spirit, without great ſentiments of ſorrow and compaſſion: nor deplore too much the ſtate of thoſe men, who break thro all the laws of charity by a principle of Conſcience; *and certainly a party muſt needs be ſtrangely weak, when its defenders run to Pamphlets and injuries to maintain it.*

The greateſt and moſt ſignaliz'd revenge I'll take of them and of their writings ſhall be a conſtant ſilence. As their arguments ſhall never find me dumb, ſo their reproaches ſhall for ever make me deaf. The living God who underſtands the language of our hearts ſhall be the only witneſs of mine: to him alone I will complain, and if at any time I pray for the ruine of my perſecutors, it ſhall be as St. a Auſtin *tells us*, David *did for the deſtruction of his Enemies.* He hated them with a perfect hatred, he could never be reconcil'd with the ſin, but nevertheleſs loved very tenderly the ſinner; and at the ſame time he would have ſuffer'd death to confound the one, he would have given his life to ſave the other.

a *Auguſt. in Pſal.* 118.

REFLEXIONS
On the Council of *TRENT*.

Discourse 1.

That the Protestants, without any necessity of Inquiring into the Decrees of the Council of Trent, *have sufficient reason to reject it.*

1.

THERE are no true Christians, whose very being so imprints not in them a profound respect for the Councils of the Church, since they consider them as Sacred Conventions, wherein that Holy Mother both instructs and reforms her Sons, and wherein Bishops speak forth the dictates of that Spirit which proceeds from

the supreme Bishop of our souls, 1 Pet. 2.25. thereby preserving as well the faith of their people from being undermin'd by the overgrowing malice of Heresie, as their manners from being corrupted by the remisness of her discipline.

The Catholick Church has alwaies judged them of so absolute a necessity, that when ever the Devil attempted to disturb her peace, so soon she gather'd her Members from all parts of the Earth to oppose him, and to learn from the Divine Scriptures, how that dreadful Enemy was to be conquer'd. So when *Arius* endeavor'd to deprive us of our Redeemer, by the denyal of his Divinity, the whole Church thundred upon him in the *Nicene* Council. *Macedonius*, whose blasphemous Tongue inveighed against the Holy Ghost, was no better treated in the *Constantinopolitan*. That of *Ephesus* prov'd no less Enemy to *Nestorius*. A thousand Anathema's were pronounc'd against *Eutiches*, by the Fathers met at *Chalcedon*. And because the *Nestorians*, even after *Nestorius* his condemnation, were resolv'd to maintain his Errors under the name of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, *Theodoret* Bishop of *Cyr*, and *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*,

Edessa, and did likewise pretend, that the first being dead in the Communion of the Church, and the two others having been receiv'd in the *Chalcedon* Council, the said Council had approv'd of the *Nestorian* Heresie; the fifth General Synod gather'd at *Constantinople*, condemn'd the three Chapters, their Authors and Defenders; amongst whom was poor Pope *Vigilius* reckon'd, notwithstanding all his Infallibility.

It had been the constant desire of Men, that the Council of *Trent* would have taken these first Assemblies for its rule, kept both their form and spirit, and shew'd in these last Times, where Charity is so cold, some foot-steps of those where it was so flaming.

II.

There were no reasons wanting to raise in us the most ardent desires that it should have been so. There was scarce any Religion to be found in men; Superstition had so blinded their minds, and fleshly lusts infected their hearts. And at the same time, that ambition had put Arms into the hands of Princes to disturb the world, the bloodless, but more pernicious and obstinate quarrels of Divines, wasted

the face of the Church.

The immediate fore-going Ages had brought forth Councils that contradicted each other. All *Europe* ſtood amaz'd at thoſe of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, *Florence*, and the *Lateran*. The ſacred Perſons of Kings were become ſo deſpicable, as to be excommunicated and degraded without the leaſt ſcruple. The Divine Authority of Biſhops was brought to nothing; and it was hard to judg, whether ignorance or corruption was more predominant in the Clergy.

Nay the Popes themſelves (if you believe their Bulls) ſeem'd to be ſenſible of ſo many Exorbitances. Pope [a] *Pius* the Fourth confeſſed, *He could not but be ſtruck with horror, when he ſaw how much both Hereſie and Schiſm had prevail'd, and how much Chriſtian manners ſtood in need to be reformed.*

[b] *Paul* the Third before him had acknowledg'd, *That Hereſie and Schiſm had vitiated all things.*

But *Adrian* the Sixth goes further, and in his Letter to the *German* Princes, does not think it enough to ſay, *That the whole world groans under inveterate and inſufferable abominations*; *that he deſires earneſtly a*

[a] *Pius* 4. *Bull. Conc.* [b] *Paul.* 3. *Bull. ind. Conc.*

Re-

Reformation: but adds, [a] *That the Church of* Rome, *the Apoſtolical See, is the off-ſpring of ſo many diſorders. We know,* ſaies he, *there have been many abominations in this Holy See, abuſes in Spiritual affairs, exceſſes in the Laws, and that all things are perverted: and it is no wonder that the diſeaſe hath flown from the head to the members, from the Popes to the inferior Prelates.*

This is alſo the Confeſſion of thoſe grave and learned [b] Doctors, who being conſulted by *Paul* the Third, about the intended Reformation, anſwered him poſitively, *That ſuch an Enterprize would prove impoſſible and uſeleſs to the Church, unleſs it began at the Head.*

III.

'Twas requiſite therefore to come to that ſo much expected Reformation; recal the ancient Doctrine and manners of the Church; and demonſtrate by a ſudden and efficacious remedy, that the Popes were not deaf to the cries and complaints of ſo many Nations.

But 'twas neceſſary alſo to make the hu-

[a] *Epiſt. Adr. ad Princ. Ger. Reperit. in faſcic. rer. expet. & fug. p.* 173. [b] *Conſult. Doctor. ſub Paul.* 3. *Reper. in fine* 3 *Tomi conc. edit. Colon.*

mane

mane Grandeur of the Apostolick See, agree with the Spiritual necessities that Souls were in; exhibit some kind of help which they should be alwaies masters of, and like experienc'd Physitians, draw infinite advantages from that universal Crisis of the World.

Nothing was ever better contriv'd for that purpose then the Council of *Trent*. And he that will survey it without being blinded with any prepostorous Zeal, will easily be convinc'd that *Paul* the Third, the Promoter of it, was a Man of great abilities; and that his Predecessors, *trepidaverunt timore ubi non erat timor. Psal. 53. 6.*

IV.

The Pope passes his word to call a Council, & against the express promise that *Adrian* the 6th had made of having it in *Germany*, according to the constant maxime of the Canons, [a] *To end Causes where their occasion began*, he calls it at *Trent*.

This Council summoned at *Trent*, is so afraid not to be accounted a General and a Lawful one, that it entitles it self at the beginning of all its Sessions, [b] *Sancta &*

[a] *Conc. African. conc. Basil. Sess.* 31. [b] *Sess.* 1, 2, 3 *&c*

œcume-

œcumenica Synodus in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata.

Who now would not think, after such big words, that from all places where our Blessed Saviors name is known, Bishops did flock to *Trent*? Who would not have expected to meet there with some Eastern Patriarchs, or *African* Prelates? Who would not have promised himself in reading the Subscriptions of this Council, to find more than 300 Witnesses of his Faith, as at *Nice*; 600. as at *Chalcedon*, and (in our very times) 300, as at *Constance*; or 400, as at *Basil*? Who would not have entertain'd hopes of hearing there, many *Athanasius's*, *Cyril's*, *Eusebius's*, *Spiridio's*, *Paphnutius's*, &c? In a word, Who would not have flatter'd himself, that our holy Faith had now bin made most clear and manifest, and that Gods Spirit, a *Spirit of liberty and peace*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 17. had animated that great Body? Nevertheless, what must we say, when we see appear there not any of those remote Bishops, nay scarce any of the neareſt, not so much as one of *Germany*, *Poland*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sueden*, or *France*? That *grand*, *œcumenical*, *holy*, *admir'd* Council, is reduc'd to three Cardinals, five Arch-Bishops, 36 Bishops (for the

the most part without Churches) some Mendicant Divines headed by *Lainez* and *Salmero, two stars of the Firmament, worthy sons of the grand, holy, œcumenical company of Jesus.*

The Sermons which were made at every Session, and their manner of discussing the controverted Points, are an evident proof of the mean parts (not to say any thing sharper and truer) of all these Divines. Nay, and to supply so remarkable a defect, we hear of no extraordinary qualities, nor eminent and surpassing Virtue, nor gift of Tongues, nor working of Miracles, nor Spirit of Prophecy.

Notwithstanding, this small handful of People take upon them to explain the most obscure and intricate matters; to give them (after a slight and precipitate survey) a final determination; and to make more Canons in one Session of four hours, then the four first General Councils all put together had done in four hundred Years.

V.

The Pope claims to himself the power of calling that Council. He does not consider it as a privilege, or an usurpation, which

which the silence of those that are interested therein seem to render lawful, but as an inseparable and inherent right to his See. [a] *Nos*, saith *Julius* the Third, *ad quem ut scimus pro tempore Pontificem spectat Concilia generalia indicere & dirigere, &c.*

Who could imagine Christs Vicar to be a man of so small sincerity? [b] *Eusebius*, [c] *Socrates* and [d] *Theodoret* affirm, that the *Nicene* Council was call'd by the great *Constantine*. The [e] first *Constantinopolitan*, which is the second General, was called by *Theodosius*; that of *Ephesus* by *Theodosius junior*; that of [f] *Chalcedon* by *Martianus*; the [g] fifth General by *Justinian*; the [h] sixth by *Constantine* the Fourth; the [i] seventh pretended General Council by *Constantine* and *Irene* his Mother; the [k] eighth by the Emperor *Basil*. All these are accounted General in the *Roman* Church, and full of so evident proofs, that the Cardinals [l] *Cusan*, [m] *Jacobatius* and *Zabarella* confess, that in the Primi-

[a] *Bull. pro. contin. Concil.* [b] *Euseb. l. 3. de vit. Conc. c. 6.* [c] *Socr. l. 2. c. 6.* [d] *Theod. l. 1. c. 8.* [e] *Act. Concil. Ephes. actio. 1. 2. part.* [f] *Epist. Synod. Con. Chalced. post act. 16.* [g] *Concil. 5. coll. 8. Epist. Just. ad Conc. act. 1.* [h] *Conc. 6. act. 1, 2, 3.* [i] *Concil. Nic. 2. act. 18. act. 1, 2, 5.* [k] *Conc. 8. act. 10.* [l] *Cus. de Conc. Eccl. Cath. l. 2. c. 2.* [m] *Jacob. de conc. l. 3. ar. 1. col. 11. §. 37.*

tive Times, the right of calling Councils belonged to the Emperors: but so many that were assembled in *Germany*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. that of *Constantia* by *Sigismundus*, that of *Pisa* by *Maximilian* (gather'd for the most part to depose Popes) make it appear that so great a Truth was not wholly worn out in the last Ages.

VI.

It is pleasant to consider, how different the stile of Popes in former times is from that of the present. *We were in hopes*, saies Pope *Leo* to the Emperor *Marcianus*, Epist. 44. *that your clemency would condescend so far as to defer the Council; but since you resolve it should be kept, I have sent thither* Paschasin. *Has not the* Roman *Church*, saies Pope *Stephen* to another Emperor, *sent her Legats to the Council when you commanded it? We do offer these things to your Piety*, saies Pope *Adrian* to the Emperor *Basil*, *with all humility*, & veluti præsentes genibus advoluti, & coram vestigia pedum volutando.

But Pope *Paul* the Third speaks quite in

[a] *Epist. Steph. post. Conc.* 8. [b] *Epist. Hadri. ad Imper Lect. in Concil. Nic.* 2. *act.* 2.

another

another manner, *Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.* The Bull of *Julius* the Third, is yet more bold, and ill becomes the humility of one that writes himself, *The Servant of Servants.* So that it must needs be, that either former Popes were extremely ignorant of the extent of their Power, or that the ambition of the later is grown too exorbitant.

VII.

The Author of the Considerations upon the Council of *Trent*, seems to be perswaded of this want of Jurisdiction in the Pope, and he is at such a loss to excuse it, that he has nothing to say, but that in the Troubles that *Europe* had bin engaged in, this right was devolv'd to the Pope. But was not *Europe* more disturb'd when *Frederick* the First gathered a Council at [b] *Pavia*, where the *German*, *English*, *French*, *Italian*, *Hungarian*, and *Danish* Bishops met together? When *Charles* the Sixth, King of *France*, call'd one at [c] *Rhemes*, whither (the Emperor being pleased to be present) the King of *England* and many o-

[a] *Bull. ind. conc. ad fin.* [b] *Radeu. de reb. gest. Fred.* c. 48. [c] *Concil. Rhem. an.* 1131.

ther Princes sent their Ambassadors? Or when both the *Pisan* and *Constantion* Councils were indicted by the Emperors with so great applause of all Christians?

VIII.

Nor is it more difficult to prove, that the Pope has no right of presiding in Councils: nor ought we to recur for that to many subtil distinctions or deep Ratiocinations. We need not put our selves upon the rack, as the Cardinals *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* frequently do, to render that probable, which is evidently false, and to make people wavering in things, which are undoubtedly true. We need but open those Books wherein lie the precious and everlasting Monuments of Antiquity, and the precedent conduct of so many holy Bishops.

Constantine the Great presided at the first General Council, as Pope [a] *Stephen* doth acknowledge in his Letter to the Emperor *Basil*. *Theodosius senior* did the same at the second: and from the small [b] remains that we have of this Council it appears, that nothing was done therein but by his

[a] *Reper. post oct. Concil.* [b] *Epist. Just. post 3. conc. pag.* 605.

Order-

Orders. [a] *Theodosius junior* sent Count *Candidian* to preside in his stead. And some contestation happening to be amongst the Bishops, he [b] writes to them in these terms, *Our Majesty cannot approve of & own as lawful, what has bin done hitherto.* And these very Bishops, that had a great veneration for their Emperor, tell him in their [c] Synodical Epistle, *They have done nothing but by his motions, and that they have made use of his Letter as a Light to conduct them.*

The fourth General Council hath no less evident Testimonies for it. The resistance which was made to Pope [d] *Leo*'s Legats, requiring *Dioscarus* to be put of the Assembly; the affair of *Juvenalis* and *Thalassius*, that of the ten Egyptian Bishops; that of *Bassianus* and *Stephen*, which were all determined by the Emperors Judges, leave us no ground to doubt of this truth. *Justinian* was President at the Fifth, as is clear from all the Acts of that Council. And that great Prince, whom *Baronius* abus'd so unworthily, declares in his [e] Letter written to the Synod, *That he*

[a] *Socrat. l. 7. c. 6, 7.* [b] *Act. Concil. Eph. Can. 17.*
[c] *Epist. Synod. Concil. Ephes. tom. 2. conc. ca. 22.* [d] *Concil. Chalced. act. 1. & 3. relat. Syn. ad Leon. post Concil.*
[e] *Epist. ad Syn. Coll. 1.*

con-

considered the Bishops reunion as the foundation and beginning of all the happiness of his Reign.

The Sixth is so clear, and its Sessions were so many characters of such a presidency, that an adorer of the Popes new Power endeavored to discredit the Acts of it, because, saies he, [a] *The Emperor, with his Judges, plena autoritate præsidet*, presides with full autority.

Anastasius did whatever he could to deprive us of the Seventh, but Pope *Adrian* did repair abundantly that defect. *We offer these things*, saies he in his Letter to *Constantine, to the end they may be carefully examined, for we have not exactly gather'd these testimonies we present to your Imperial Majesty. We received these Letters from* Adrianus B[a] *of* Rome, [b] saies the Emperor, *directed to us by his Legats, who also sit with us in the Synod. We command them to be publicly read.*

There is no *Italian* whom these words would not stagger.

The Eighth expresly saies, [c] *Præsidentibus Imperatoribus*; and because the Popes Legats pretended, that the Bishops who

[a] *Pighius de 6. & 7. Synod.* [b] *Concil. 7. act. 2.* [c] *Act. 7, 6, 8, 10, &c.*

were

were defenders of *Photius*, having bin condemned by the Pope, ought not to be heard any more, as sentenc'd by their last Judge, the Emperors Envoies to the Council, answer'd, *That the Prince commands them to be heard the second time*; Imperator vult & jubet.

Who, after so many Presidents clearer than the light, will not wonder to hear *Leo* the Tenth in his *Lateran* Council, say imperiously, and in such a manner as gives a truer Character of him, than all his Historians, *The Pope of* Rome *only, as being above all Councils, is fully impowered to call, to transport, and to dissolve them?* And who, after a particular account of 100 Provincial Councils for 1000 Years, where the Pope was never spoken of but for the condemning of his pretences, who, I say, will not confess with Cardinal Zabarella, *That the Pope has so generally invaded the Rights of particular Churches, that other Bishops signifie almost nothing; and if God be not merciful to his Church,* Vehementer periclitatur?

[f] Zabar. cap. licet. extrav. de elect.

IX. Nor

IX.

Nor does their pretended Power of confirming Councils ſtand upon better grounds than the other two. For if by the word *Confirmation* they underſtand an external engagement, whereby all faithful People are to obey the holy Conſtitutions of theſe Divine Aſſemblies, ſuch an Authority belongs ſo properly to Princes, and makes ſo conſiderable a part of their Dignity, that no man can appropriate it to himſelf without a manifeſt Uſurpation, and violation of the Sacred Majeſty of Kings. 'Tis in that ſenſe [a] *Euſebius* ſaies of *Conſtantine*, *Quæ ab Epiſcopis erant ſancita regulæ, ſuâ confirmabat & conſignabat autoritate.* And to the ſame purpoſe [b] *Juſtinian*, ſpeaking of the Canons of the firſt Ages ſaies, *Sancimus vicem legum obtinere ſanctas regulas.* But if by *Confirmation* they underſtand the internal obligation laid upon all Chriſtians, of hearing thoſe whom God has made their guides (and eſpecially when they ſpeak in Councils where the Holy Ghoſt has promiſed to be with them) to reduce it to the Pope, is the greateſt Chimera in the World. This is to make theſe Venerable Aſſemblies an

[a] *De Vit. Conſt. cap.* 27. [b] *Novel.* 131. *c.* 1.

object

object of ſcorn and deriſion; to give occaſion of diſbeleiving the certainty of the truth they ſet forth, or the juſtice of the laws they impoſe; and turn all Chriſtendome into a club of Independents, given up to the guidance of their own reaſon.

Is it probable that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be abſent from a meeting of 300 Biſhops, among whom we find *Athanaſius*, *Oſius*, *Maximus*, &c. and be preſent to *Liberius* a Subſcriber of the *Arian* Hereſie?

That he ſhould not be in the *Epheſin*, *Chalcedonian*, and *Conſtantinopolitan* Councils, where you have *Cyril*, *Leo*, *Proclus*, *Flavian*, &c. and yet in *Vigilius* a defender of the three Chapters?

That he ſhould not vouchſafe his preſence to three hundred Biſhops met at the ſixth general Council, and yet inſpire *Honorius* a patron of the Monotheliteſ?

Is not this to include the Univerſal Church in the *Pope*, which is a dangerous hereſie? To acknowledg him to be above Councils, which the [a] *Baſilian* Council (the *Popes's Carthage*) as well as the fa-

[a] *Seſs.* 21.

mous [a] *Sorbon* stile an other hereſie? and in fine, to open the door to a thouſand inconveniences, the renown'd diſtinction *excathedra* cannot help?

X.

Theſe weighty reaſons induc'd the [b] *German* Princes to proteſt againſt that Council. Many Kings of *France* had done the ſame before: and *Francis* the Firſt (whoſe name alone is a World of great Men) was ſo fully perſwaded of its being no Council, much leſs a General one, that the ſubſcription of the Letters he directed to them, was only this, *Conventui Tridentino.*

But above all *Henry* the Eighth King of *England*, a cleer-ſighted Prince, and extreamly well learned in the true concernments of Princes, oppos'd it with a greater conſtancy. 'Twas not out of any motion of Hereſie or Schiſm he deale thus; for he lived yet in the Roman communion. Nor out of any ambition, ſince all the hiſtorians, nay thoſe themſelves who endeavoured moſt to defame him, acknow-

[a] *Appel. Sorbon. à concil. Later. infaſti. ver. expet. & fug.* [b] *cent. Gravam. 1. Par. recus. concil.*

ledg he had been all his life-time the general Arbiter of *Europe*. Nor yet out of any fear of, or aversion to Councils, since at the same time that he protested against the Council of *Trent*, he declared he was ready to submit to any other lawfully call'd, and to send thither the Bishops of his Realms. But the true and only cause was, that he perceived of how great importance an attempt of that matter would be for all succeeding ages, and what slavery all Christian Princes would be reduced to, if he should let it pass. So that if the Council of *Trent* were as orthodox as the *Nicene*, and we had no other reasons of rejecting it, this we have alledged is sufficient to satisfy all unprejudic'd persons.

'Tis an essential defect and a fundamental one, at the beginning of an affair of the highest concernment. Whatever you intend to raise and build upon it, cannot be but weak and ruinous: and till the *Pope* be pleased to do us justice in that point, we do well to stop our ears to all others.

XI.

But should we set aside all these considerations, and grant that the *Pope* could both call and preside in this Council, we maintain he ought not to do it.

How came he to be judg of those, whose adversary he was? to sentence his own accusers, and to rule in a Council demanded with so many tears, and obtained after five and twenty years delay, only to reform him?

The heats of *Leo* the 10th against *Luther* are very well known. That *Pope* who had for so many years trampled upon the neck of *Europe*, was almost distracted to see a despicable Frier rebel against him, and attack indulgences, of which his predecessors had alwaies bin most tender.

So considerable an adversary gave more credit to *Luther*, than either his own merit, or the justice of his cause could have done. Nor was he to be accounted an ordinary man, that had answered Pope *Leo* so briskly, and stoutly received all the *Vatican* thunders. He made his appeal to a future Council, and was the more easily induced to defer till then his condemnation, or justification, because he

he never imagin'd Pope *Leo*, his public and profes'd Enemy would become his Judg.

The *German* Princes went further, and after their accusation brought against the *Pope* for Heresie and Simony, they [a] appeal'd to a lawful Council.

'Twas at least the *Popes* duty to purge himself of so many accusations, and to acknowledge according to the rule of the [b] Canonists (his most famous oracles) that in such occasions he was depriv'd of all power.

The Arch-Bishop of *Colen* having been excommunicated by *Paul* the Third, refused the *Pope* for his Judg, as having bin attainted of Heresie and Idolatry long before; and protested that as soon as a free Council should be opened, he would appear there to accuse him according to the ancient Canons.

King *Henry* the Eighth declared in his *Manifesto*, that the Roman Bishops orders did not concern him at all; that the *Pope* had conceived a deadly hatred against him; and that he sought after all occasions to be revenged of him, for hav-

[a] *Appel. Prin. Ger. fasticul. rer. expet. & fugien.* [b] *Can. ne quis in prop. causa.*

ing

ing shaken off his tyranny, and withstood the intolerable contributions exacted of his Kingdoms by that See. These different appeals had been made in all requisite terms: and were not intended as a pretence to annul the Council, but were offer'd before it was commenc'd without ever being recall'd. What ever slight pretences the *Pope* had against *Luther* and the Princes of *Germany*, he had none at all against *Henry* the Eight and the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*. The one was a Prelate who demanded to be ruled by the Canons; the other a great King, never suspected of any Heresie, one that was honoured with the glorious name of *Defender of the Faith*: and tho we don't pretend to canonize all the actions of that incomparable Monarch, it is well known his greatest guilt was the following the examples of his Predecessors, in converting to the good of the State, those immense riches which the Roman Luxury and idleness was maintained with, and taking away those Monasteries, whose People were become abominable and scandalous to the Church.

XII.

For these very reasons in former ages the [a] Catholic Bishops, defenders of *Athanasius* his person and faith, rejected the Council of *Tyre*, because, said they, *Theognis* and *Eusebius* were his judges; and that Gods Law, *Inimicum neque testem neque judicem esse vult.* [b] St. *Crysostome* refus'd to appear before *Theophilus*, only because he still seem'd guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and was his enemy, *quod contra omnes Canones & leges est.* And this is so equitable, that Pope [c] *Nicholas* the First, and [d] *Celestine* the Third acknowledged, that *ipsa ratio dictat, quia suspecti & inimici judices esse non debeant.*

[e] Cardinal *Bellarmine* is so embarass'd by the laws which those two *Popes* confess to be of natural equity, that he admits of them, except when it concerns the supream judge. I pity that great defender of the Popes, for giving so miserable an answer. For if it be true, how came it to pass that Pope *Vigilius*'s consti-

[a] *Athan. apol.* 2. [b] *Epist. ad Innoc.* 1. *Conc. post Epist. Inn.* 27. [c] Nicol. 1. *Ep.* 7. [d] Celest. *Extrav. de Appell. can. secundo requirit.* [e] *Libr.* 1. *de Concil.* c. 21.

tution

tution (which he certainly pronounced *ex Cathedra*) was condemn'd in the [a] Fifth general Council? Why does the [b] Sixth also excommunicate Pope *Honorius* for being an Heretique? *Exclamaverunt omnes Honorio hæretico anathema.* And the [c] Seventh, *Detestamur Sergium, Honorium, &c.* What means the [d] Eight in forbiding Popes ever to be judged, but when they are Heretiques? Why did the [e] *Basilean* and [f] *Constantian* make it an article of Faith, that the Popes are subject to a superior Judg when they become Hereticks, Schismaticks or scandalous? Why were Pope [g] *Anastasius*, *John* the Thirteenth, and a 100 others depos'd? We must needs either condemn this shining cloud of witnesses, and with them all the ages of the Church, or confess that Pope *Paul* the third had no reasons to preside at *Trent*.

XIII.

Tis no new thing to appeal from the Popes judgment. Saint *Austin* writing to the *Donatists*, and speaking of the sentence

[a] *Concil. 5. act. 8.* [b] *Concil. 6. Act. 26.* [c] *Concil. 7. act. 7.* [d] *Concil. 8. act. 7.* [e] *Concil. Basil. Sess.* [f] *Concil. Const. Sess. 4.* [g] *Responsio Synod. concil. Basil. p. 105.*

given

given against them at *Rome*, uses these words. 'Let us suppose, [a] *fateor*, that 'the Bishops who judged their cause at '*Rome* had not judged aright, there yet 'remained a Council of the Universal 'Church wherein your cause with your 'judges might have been judged again, 'and their sentence annul'd had it been 'unjust.

But without looking back to the Primitive times, the histories of our age afford us a thousand examples of this kind. Nothing is more frequent in the *English*, *French* and *German* records. Nay the Monks themselves claim'd right to such appeals. *Luther* was not the first who attempted to make use of them; and we read in *Paul Langius* his [b] Chronicles, that *Cesano* a Frier appeal'd from the sentence of Pope *Martin* the fifth as being Heretical, tho in a matter of very little concernment, it being only to know, to whom belong'd the propriety of the *Franciscans*'s bread.

XIV.

But laying aside all these reasons, how could the Pope be president in a Council

[a] *August. Epist.* 162. [b] *An.* 1328.

call'd only for his reformation? There is none but know that the disorders of the Church had no other Origin then the Court of *Rome*. Nor did Protestants only think so, but those also of the Church of *Rome*. And tho both were extreamly opposite in their opinions concerning the remedies for so great a disease; yet they all agreed in their apprehensions of its cause. Pope [a] *Adrian* the sixth and the Councellors of [b] *Paul* the third acknowledg'd it with much sincerity. This was the sentiment of Princes as well as Doctors. Their [c] publique Ministers did alwaies touch upon that string. Pope [d] *Marcellus* the second did not apprehend *how his Predecessors could abhor the very name of reformation.* And it is like that had God bin pleas'd to prolong his life, he would have done great things.

The reformation of Popes was a wound never searched without making them fall into dreadful fits. All Christians desired the primitive times in matters both of

[a] *Adria. Epist. ad Princ. Germ.* [illegible] *scic. rer. exp. & fug.* [b] *Consul. Paul. 3 in fin. to. 3 concil. ed. Colo.* [c] *Haran. de Mr. de Ferriers ambas. au Concile de la part du Roy tres Christ.* [d] *Onuph. in Marcel.*

Doctrine

Doctrine and discipline should be brought again. But they were afraid at that word; and the only representation of such a Council as those four which Pope *Gregory* the Great reverenced *as the four Gospels*, was a phantôme, which all the exorcisms in the World could not drive away.

We need but read *Onuphrius* their historian to be acquainted with their fears. Cardinal *Pallavicini* could not conceal them; Cardinal *Bellai* represents in his memoires, how much Pope *Paul* the Fourth was frighted. And all the World was so far perswaded, that this only thing hindred them from proceeding, that Monsieur de *Ferrieures* Embassadour of his most Christian Majesty to the Council, told them not only in his Masters name, but also of all the Gallican Church, 'that more than an hundred and fifty 'years since, a reformation of the head 'and members had bin expected in the 'Church; that it had bin required in the '*Constantian*, *Basilean*, and *Ferrarian*, 'Councils, but could never be obtain-'ed; that twas no hard matter to guess at 'the reason of so many delaies.

[a] *Collec. Lovan. Orat. in Con. habit.*

XV.

The truth on't was, the Popes wounds were grown altogether incurable. There had bin a kind of preſcription againſt all their abuſes. Many holy men had inveigh'd againſt them on all occaſions but in vain; and thus uſurpation had laſted ſo long, that they did account it a lawful authority. 'Twas ſo pleaſing to them to thunder at all the World upon the ſmalleſt occaſion, that they could not renounce it without thinking themſelves undone. In a word they were not taken ſo much with the humble and penitent lives of the Popes *Adrian* and *Marcellus*, as with the audacious and voluptuous ones of *Boniface*, *Leo* and *Hildebrand*.

Nevertheleſs this ſick and languiſhing perſon is allow'd to govern his own Phyſitians. The general complaint of the World is, 'that the Popes ſwelling ambition has made him break through all 'laws; that the Court of *Rome* is become 'a ſink of wickedneſs; that the vices of 'the head infected the members; that 'without the reforming of this head there 'is no hope left for laying of any ſolid 'foundation.

And

And yet he presides in his Council. He calls, directs, and transports it by his full and sole authority (tho the 400 Prelates met at *Basil* had made it a point of the Catholic Faith, that 'twas not in his power:) his Spirit fits the mouth of his Legats, and the fear of him strikes the hearts of the Bishops.

XVI.

Paul the third being afraid of nothing so much as of a free Council where Protestants should be heard, provided so well against these two inconveniences, that the Conventicles of *Tyre*, of *Antioch*, or of *Ephesus* in comparison of that, would have bin thought freedom it self.

Peace being the source of all freedom in an Ecclesiastical assembly, where all the members of it are stil'd by Scripture *Evangelists of peace*, that Pope was extreamly diligent in fomenting War thro all Europe. This we are assur'd of by the speech of Cardinal *de Monte*, that of Cardinal *de Lorraine*, the letters of the *Lantgrave de Hesse*, of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of that [b] Pope himself to the *Switzers*,

[a] *Can. Basil. Sess.* 33. [b] *Ephes.* 6. 13. [c] *A copy of that letter drawn upon the original with all due forms, is to be seen in the Bishop of* Venice's *library.*

where-

wherein he acquaints them, *he has made a league with the Emperor to undermine Protestants, and intends for that purpose, to raise all the forces of the Ecclesiastical state.*

What name shall we give a Council, which has such a Pope for its president? Do's he deal out of charity or ambition? Do's he design to convert Souls by force of Arms? What can they think of the Church, who are suppos'd to be separated from her? How long is it since Councils were taught to War with any other weapon then Scriptures, then tears and Praiers? Is that Pope to be trusted, who at the same time he offers to receive his Children into his bosome, can lift up his hand to strike them?

Julius the Third was of a greater sincerity, and scorn'd to deal deceitfully. When he call'd the Fathers to *Trent*, he openly agreed with the Emperor to make War against *France*, about the Dukedom of *Parma*; and to speak as *Onuphrius* (who is more his Panegyrist than his Historian) *set* Italy *and the rest of* Europe *in a flame.*

[a] *Onuph. in Trent.* 30.

What

What peace then or freedome could a Council enjoy, when all *Europe* was embroil'd, and groan'd under a bloody War? and what designs of reunion and charity could a Pope entertain, who sought nothing but confusion and trouble?

Pius the Fourth seem'd to be asham'd of it. He was so little convinc'd of the validity of what ever had bin done at *Trent*, that when he recall'd again his Synod the third time, he was at a loss how to term it, whether it should be considered as a new one, or but a continuation of the first; *French-men* claim'd the one, *Spaniards* pretended the other. *The Pope* (saies his Panegyrist) *met with an expedient to make them agree, and he did so contrive his Bull, that all were equally satisfied*: that is to say, he daub'd up the business; he flatter'd each one with a fancy they had bin victorious, but he gave occasion at the same time to all clear-sighted men, to wonder at a conduct so far distant from the candor and ingenuity of the first Ages, and so full of carnal wisdom, which the Apostle stiles [b] *Death*, and to beleive, that he never intended to heal the wounds of the Church, but on-

[a] *Onuphr. in Pag.* 4. [b] *Rom.* 8. 6.

ly

ly to cover them, and create her new ones.

XVII.

What is the reason the Pope is so earnest for the Council to be held in *Italy*, and stops his ears to the cries of *Germany*, the complaints of Protestants, and the entreaties of so many Princes and Bishops? Did *France*, where the eldest Son of the Church commands, give him any cause to fear? Did *Germany*, where *Charles* the Fifth commanded? Did *Spain*, where people were grown adorers of his Grandeur? Was this Council for being had in any of these Kingdoms, under the subjection of most Christian and Catholic Princes, in danger of becoming either less free or less Orthodox?

Had the Pope bin inflam'd with the zeal of that faithful Shepherd, of whom it is written, *does he not leave the ninety & nine, & go in the Mountains, & seeks that which is gone astray*[b]? how great joy should have possessed his Soul, for having the place shown him, where to find his wandring Sheep; where all European Bishops might

[a] *Responsi. ordin. imper. legatis Pontif. fasciculi rer. expet & fug. p.* 173. [b] *Mat.* 18. 12.

have

have met together; and *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Germany*, sent their Prelates? Should he not have bin raviſh'd at the occaſion given him, of rendring the Proteſtants inexcuſable? of reproaching them as Chriſt did *Jeruſalem*, *how often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, and ye would not*, Matth. 23. 37. of accuſing them of Schiſm, and applying to them all Saint *Auſtin's* arguments againſt the *Donatiſts*? Had not Pope *Paul* the Third, and his Succeſſors aim'd at ſome other end then the love of Catholic truth, why did he oppoſe the only thing that could render it victorious? Is there any preſident of ſuch a conduct in former Ages? Is it not cleer that there is in it ſome myſtery? And if ſo, was it to be wondred that Proteſtants ſhould apply themſelves to ſearch into it, and prevent its conſequences?

XVIII.

The choice of a free place where truth ſhould command, had bin alwaies a terrour to the Popes. As long as the Apoſtolic

ſtolic See is not rul'd by *Adrians* and *Marcellus's*, it will never without horrour call to mind the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. Every Country wherein Biſhops may ſay, *It ſeems good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us*, Act. 15. 28. ſhall be accounted by the Biſhop of *Rome* a Land of bondage. The *Piſan* Council ſhall be term'd a Latrociny by the *Lateran*, and moſt holy decrees ſhall be looked upon, as ſo many bold and raſh attempts.

Paul the Third chuſes therefore *Trent* to aſſemble his Council at. This Town indeed was out of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the Cardinal of *Trent* commanded therein; but as an Author of the Roman communion pleaſantly obſerves, *the Town was ſubject to the Cardinal, and the Cardinal to the Pope.*

Paul the Third had bin informed by his predeceſſors example, *that nothing made ſo much to the proſpering of a Council, as the choice of the place.* He ſucceeded in it admirably well. *Trent* was not ſo far from *Rome*, but the Holy Ghoſt might come thither in a few daies, and many legions

of

of Italian Bishops resort thither; as it was done at the question of Residence and divine right of Episcopacy, when 40 Spanish Bishops, set aside for the most pressing occasions, came in as fresh supply. But he had forgot how *Nicholas* the First, *Innocent* the Third, *Clement* the Fifth, *Innocent* the Fourth do teach, that no man is bound to appear in a place where he has just reasons to fear the multitude.

XIX.

The event has shown us, that the fears of those Princes were not groundless. Their intention was only to obtain a free Council, where none should be condemned unheard, truth examin'd without prejudice, and matters weighed with the greatest care.

For we must not imagine so many great Kingdoms, holy Bishops and learned men sought their own ruine. They desired no more then the examination of their doctrine; to persevere in it if it should be

* *Clem. pastor, de sentent. & re judicata, can. sine, de conjug. Caus.* 33. *Pro.* 2.

judged orthodox, or to renounce it if it were not so; & for this reason the favour should be granted them, which was never denied to any, to wit of being heard.

An[a] Heathen does so much justice to Pope *Liberius*, as to confess, that he chose rather to banish then to condemn *Athanasius* without hearing his defence. But if they were afraid to place us in *Athanasius's* rank, it is certain that *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Paul of Samasate*, *Nestorius*, *Pelagius*, and the most abominable Heresiarchs have bin heard. And the Church alwaies judg'd she could not deny them a thing of natural right.

XX.

Nevertheless the Pope rids himself of all these Inconveniences of the Primitive Church; and for fear other Bishops that are present at the Council should speak for them, he deprives them of all freedom of proposing any thing. Tho they are his [b] *venerable Brothers and born Judges*

[a] *Ammian marcel.* [b] *Tis the title, the Pope gives Bishops in all his Bul's.*

of

of Councils as well as he, they have never the more liberty for it. All things are done *proponentibus legatis*, [a] and these Legats do propose but what they please.

When any one touched with a sense of his duty, intends to speak, he is silenced. If he be a *French-man* or a *Spaniard*, they tell him, tis unbecoming the Majesty of a Council to contest. But if he be an *Italian* (that is, *a shadow and a Sceleton of a Bishop*) he has his ingratitude reproach'd, and his Soul terrified by violent threats.

Ibi est berus, tergo metuas.

There is at *Trent* but the image of a Council. The true one is at *Rome*. [b] *Quid à patribus judicandum proponitur, aut ab iis judicatum publicatur, quod non prius Romam missum Pio Quarto placuerit?* The main design is to cheat the People, & not to establish any real good for the Church. The holy Ghost does not shine on the Fa-

[a] *At every session.* [b] *Speech of the French Ambassador related in Thuanus, pag.* 54.

thers

thers at *Trent* but by reflexion; and tho he has not promis'd to be in the conclave, but in the Council, yet he does not come to the one but as sent by the other.

What can the result be of dealings so contrary to the Spirit of God, but to incline men to renounce an assembly, where, as speaks Mr. *Ferriers's*, Pope *Pius* the Fourth left no place for the laws, no footsteps of the antient Councils, no vestige of freedom. [a] *Ubi nullum legibus locum, nullum antiquorum conciliorum, nullum libertatis vestigium* Pius *Quartus relinquat.*

Nor are the Authors of these last words either Protestants or Heretics. Neither is it that famour *Venetian*, whom they call *Atheist*, because he brought out of darkness, those artifices the Popes made use of, to betray the cause of God: but the Legats of the most Christian King: Men of admirable integrity and erudition, wonderfully addicted to the Church of *Rome*; and public Enemies to those that had separated themselves from it.

[a] *Thuanus, ibid.*

XXI.

XXI.

But to be fully perſwaded of the violence offer'd the truth, and that its vindication was not the ſcope of their endeavours, we need but conſider the ſecret power given to the Popes Legat to tranſport, or to diſſolve the Council according to the occurrences, is it not a manifeſt and evincing argument, that the Fathers gather'd at *Trent* were treated like Children? made uſe of but only for a ſhew and pretence, when an occult and an overuling ſpirit agitated the whole maſs?

Had the Pope dealt ſincerely and without miſtruſt, what need ſuch an anticipated power? But if he could not ſuppreſs his fears in a place he had ſo much cautious of, how made ſecure, are not the very ſame fears much more reaſonable in ſuch, as could there hope for no ſecurity?

The diſſolving of Councils is the laſt ſhift the Popes betake themſelves to. Eugenius the Fourth attempted to ſecure his totte-

tottering power at *Basil*, and indeed that Council had vanish'd into smoak, but that the Emperour, Princes, and Bishops, forced him to repair thither: [a] *by threatning to condemn him for a stubborn and obstinate man, if he should refuse it.* Proud [b] *Leo* the Tenth succeeded more happily, and tho *Alexander* the Fifth testified at his death, all things had bin done at the *Pisan* Council with all imaginable sincerity and integrity, yet he declar'd it a meer conventicle.

XXII.

Had they intended to render truth manifest and palpable to all Christians, why did they take a course for discussing it so suspicious and unheard of till then? What means that so extraordinary distinction *of Congregations and Sessions*, the first to deliberate, the other to decide and decree? Had they learnt this from the first Councils of the Church? Must articles of Faith be handled secretly? [c] *Is there any thing more dreadful to the truth than to be absconded?*

[a] *Plat. in Eugen. 4.* [b] *Plat. in Alex. 4.* [c] *Tertul.*

this? And is there any rational man that suspects not they are willing to disguise and betray it, when he sees them so cautious and overprudent to conceal from him their way of examining it?

Is infallibility to be found in *the Sessions* or in the *Congregations?* not in the last, since they are compos'd of private Doctors; nor in the first, since nothing is examin'd in them.

And Gods Spirit, a [a] spirit of Wisdom and discretion, forbids to determine any thing but after a long and serious trial.

XXII.

Hence we draw, how weak is an answer of the author of the considerations upon the Council of *Trent*, which seems to him the most solid ground of all his discourse.

The inconsiderable number of Bishops who voted in that Council is objected to him. And we say [a] that it is a great teme-

[a] *Ephes.* 1. 10. *Thess.* 5. 21.

'rity in those few Bishops and Divines, to 'have made in so short a time, & upon so 'important matters, such a prodigious 'number of decrees; and an other yet 'greater and more unpardonable then 'the first, to have bin so bold to propose 'them as the decisions of the Catholic 'Church.

To this he answers two things, first that those Bishops and Divines were men of an extraordinary merit. Secondly that whatever this small number had done, was approv'd of, received and ratified by the greater number, which amounted to above two hundred at the least Session.

For the first part of his answer concerning their extraordinary merit, he must give us leave to tell him, Pope *Paul* the fourth was incomparably better acquainted with it then he is, and consequently more to be beleived. And [a] he said of them to Cardinal *Bellay*, *It had bin a great weakness in his Predecessours, their having sent to the Mountains of* Trent *three-*

[a] *Il. Council. de Trent. Pag.* 408. *Memoires du Cardinal Bellay. p.* 155.

score

score Bishops of the less learned, Sessanta Vescovi de manco habili, *& forty very ordinary Divines*, & quaranta dottori de meno sufficienti.

For the second we acknowledg with him, that at the end of the Council two hundred and 50 Bishops, the greatest part *Italians*, ratifi'd the decrees of those other. But he ought to acknowledg with us, as a matter of fact, that after the arrival of those new Bishops, there had not bin any new examination of so many decrees, but only a simple reading. Whence we conclude many things so disadvantageous to him, that it would have bin more secure and handsom for him, to have let that objection alone, as he did twenty others.

And first that it is against all Canons, all right, and rules of common sense, that Bishops newly come should determine points they never examin'd.

Secondly, the surveying of these points was either necessary, or not. If twas so, they were bound therefore to undertake it.

But if there was no such necessity, why did the first Bishops impose it upon themselves?

Thirdly, the last Bishops avoiding any new examination did therefore acquiesce in the precedent: and so it is a ridiculous petition of principle, and the greatest dishonour the Council could be blemish'd with, to say the Fathers rely upon some Bishops *de manso habili*, and some Divines *de meno sufficienti*.

Fourthly, that by this means Protestants continue still in the right, for complaining they have bin condemned without being heard: that they can and ought to maintain their Doctrine till it be lawfully proscrib'd, it being probable for many great Kingdoms, three parts of *Germany*, and a considerable part of *France* and *Poland*, were further from being mistaken, then a few Bishops *de manso habili*, and a few Divines *de meno sufficienti*.

XXIV.

Ther's none can forbear laughing, at the simplicity of him that collected the subscriptions of that Council; who to dazle the eyes of ignorant People, writes a patriarch of Jerusalem and six Greek Prelats; Greeks born in *Italy*, who had nothing Greek but their names; as lately *Cardinal de Rets* was Arch-Bishop of *Cassiah*, tho he had never bin there. The same is to be said of the pretended Arch-Bishops of *Armagh* and *Ossal* who sate at *Trent*, when the true Prelats of those Sees protested against the Council.

And for those titular Bishops who appeard there in so stupendious a number, the Pope did never reflect, that in sending them thither, he published to all the World, how much an enemy he was to the Spirit, Discipline, and rules of the Church, which hath always consider'd the Election of Bishops without Bishoprics, as constant violations of her most holy laws.

XXV.

XXV.

But all these Shepherds, as well those that want Sheep, as those that *are known by theirs*, *John* 11. 14. are tied up to the Pope by a more solemn and dreadful Oath, then that which obligeth them to their natural Princes.

This Oath is not only contrary to all antiquity, wherein tis impossible to find any footstep of it; not only unworthy the Episcopal rank, not only injurious and scandalous to Kings, who thereby can never hope for true and faithful allegiances from their Bishops: but also horrid and abominable in all its parts.

A private author would never be believed, that should undertake to evince the consequences of it. They would suspect him of being prepossess'd and sway'd more by his own passion then the truth. But lets hear how the Pope himself interprets this Oath. No Bishop of the Church of *Rome* can disown the interpretation of his holiness. For it is the universal

Doctrine of all Divines (except some scandalous *Jesuits*) that we must in all our swearings answer the meaning of the lawgiver, otherwise we attempt to deride God, and make his word a witness to our falsehood.

But Pope *Pius* the Second makes the extent of this Oath so large, that writing to the Bishop of *Mayence* he[a] tells him, *It is not lawful for a Bishop to speak true against the Pope.* Non licet verum dicere contra Papam.

If we give any credit to that Popes words (which the Author of the considerations cannot disown, for he spake *ex Cathedrâ*) in a thousand occurrences they that take such an Oath must needs be either perjur'd or betrayers of the truth of Christ.

But what can we hope from Bishops who sit in a Council thus enslav'd to the Popes will? since a Heresie maintain'd by him, (as but too many have bin) they cannot oppose, without forswearing themselves, and if they remain dumb at

[a] *Epist. ad Episcop. Mogunt.*

such

such enormities; they shamefully betray the station *Christ* has given them in his Church.

What would the *Nicene* or *Chalcedonian* Fathers have said at this acclamation of the *Apulian* Bishops, [1] *Nihil aliud sumus præterquam creaturæ & mancipia Sanctissimi Patris?* What would *Dioscorus* or *Dioscorus* have desir'd more? and if *Paphnutius* could not forbear weeping, to see *Athanasius*'s seat fill'd by his accuser, and himself thrust into a place due to that vile man, is it possible there was not one Bishop at *Trent* seen to shed tears at so strange a contempt of Episcopal dignity?

XXVI.

And indeed the most holy Father us'd them all *ut creaturas & mancipia*. *James* of *Clodia Fossa*, saying he could not suffer tradition to be paralleld with the Scripture, was expell'd the Council. *Peter* of *Justiniunople* being but suspected of what they call'd Lutheranism, was forbidden to come there, and take place a-

[1] *Milinæus de Concil. Trident. Num.* 21.

mongst

amongst the Bishops. Another was proclaim'd Schismatical, and threatned to be rejected, for affirming there had bin many lawful Bishops never call'd or confirm'd by the Pope. Nay another was depos'd because he said, *the Pope should be contented with the title of Holy, which God is satisfied with without affecting that of most Holy.* So that twas not without reason, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* complain'd, 'the Council was not free, since nothing could be propos'd or resolv'd, but what was the Legats pleasure, nor could they propose any thing but what was the Popes.'

XXVI.

But to convince all unprejudic'd persons, we need but consider the safe conduct granted to Protestants.

Tho the Fathers of *Trent* were engaged in honour, to blot out the memory of the *Constantian* Council, (whose wounds continued still bleeding) by testifying to their adversaries all imaginable sincerity

[a] *Thuan. l. 5. pag.* 13.

ty and Candour, yet they gave them greater occaſions then ever to diſtruſt.

Proteſtants require nothing but what had bin accorded to the *Bohemians* by the Fathers at *Baſil*; but they are plainly denied. They beg at leaſt a ſafe conduct which they many conſide in; but tis doubted whether it may be granted them, and they are told it ſhall be given in the Congregation (viz. in the Friers meeting) and not in the Seſſion (viz. in the Council.) At laſt after having bin thus baited, they obtain ſafe conduct which has reſpect only to the *Germans* & worded in ſuch captious terms, that thereby the Pope had reſerved to himſelf the power of burning all the *Engliſh*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *French* that ſhould come to the Council; nay the *Germans* themſelves: tho they could blame nothing but their own ſimplicity.

Notwithſtanding whatever reaſons Proteſtants had of declining ſuch a Council, after the example of the Holy Fathers, and the judgment of the wiſeſt men then living, they (truſting the juſtice of their cauſe, and ſeeing in that noble and magnificent ſafe conduct hope

hope was given them of disputing and proposing their difficulties) sent their Divines to *Trent* and exposed them to all dangers, without any other defence then the truth, which is call'd in the Scriture, *the shield of the just*. These Divines thus authoriz'd by their Nation, being arriv'd at *Trent* conceal not themselves. They avoid not the sight of men. The whole Councill is acquainted with their coming. They speak to the Ambassadors, make their addresses to the Popes Legats, conjure them to pitty the calamities of *Germany*; and after having presented them with the confession of their Faith, they beg no other favour from them, but to have it read in the Council, for its being either approv'd of, or condemn'd. The Legats do not burden them with Irons, or tumble them into Dungeons, they are so far from being murdered, that their life could not be more secure in the Prince of *Saxonies* or the *Landgraves* Chamber. But they receive no answer; their confession of Faith remains buried, the Legats keep it *in Petto*, nor are the

most entire submissions and ardent entreaties able to bring it forth. Thinking perhaps that the quality of a Priest, or of a Divine had no great influence upon an Apostolic Legat, they made use of the Emperours Ambassadors. That Prince was the Soul of the Pope, as the Pope [illegible] of the Council. But all these endeavours are frustrated, there is somwhat unknown and unperceiv'd which strikes dumb their *Eminences.*

Who ever heard of any such dealings? If Protestants decline the Council grounded upon a thousand unanswerable reasons, all the World rises against them; nor are the names of Heretics, Schismatics, nay Atheists sufficient to express their imputed perfidiousness. But tho they come and strike Heaven and Earth with their complaints, an ignorance is pretended of their being there. The Fathers have neither ears, nor hearts, nor mouths, to hear their praiers, feel their grievances, and answer their propositals; and they are forced to beg and expect from

from God that juſtice which men deny them.

XXVII.

Tis evident from ſo many inſtances, that Proteſtants did never reject Councils. There is no Chriſtian whom the Authority of the Church do's not overcome, he deſerving to be debar'd from the quality, advantages and hopes of a Son, who hearkens not unto his Mothers voice. The Church has a true juriſdiction, a real and effective authority. All contrary Doctrines flow from independency and Enthuſiaſm, two blind and furious Monſters every where to be profligated. But the very ſame Proteſtants ſo great admirers and defenders of the Church, require ſhe ſhould ſpeak in lawful aſſemblies. When they ſhall be condemned in Councils like that of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, then they will receive their ſentence with as much joy as reſpect.

But

But when a new and unlawful meeting, guilty of eſſential, aver'd and inconteſtable defects, nay acknowledg'd to be ſuch by the moſt learned and diſintereſted men of the Roman Communion, ſhall claim the ſame authority as theſe Divine aſſemblies; they will be very careful *to keep their ancient rules*; and far from being deterr'd by the threats of that proud and uncharitable Church, which excludes from heaven all thoſe ſhe cannot keep blindfold in her boſom, they will augment the glorious company of many holy Fathers, whom the overpowring number of unjuſt Councils, could never bend to betray the cauſe of Chriſt. Such an one was St. *Athanaſius* who rejected the Council of *Tyre*; *Maximus* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, that of *Antioch*; *Cyril* that of *Syrmium*; *Paulinus* that of *Milan*; and *Chryſoſtome*, an example of Chriſtian conſtancy, that *ad quercum*.

In a word they will receive thoſe curſes pronounc'd againſt them as ſo many bleſſings, and without going any further

further into the discussion of the *Tridentine* Councils decrees, they will conclude with the words of Cardinal [a] *Bellarmine*, *Si legitima Synodus non fuit, planum est nullam authoritatem potuisse habere: & nullius roboris sunt illius Canones.*

[a] *L. 2. De Pontif. c. 18.*

REFLEX-

REFLEXIONS
On the Council of TRENT.

DISCOURSE II.

That the Doctrine of the Council of Trent *is contrary to the ancient Doctrine of the Catholic Church.*

I.

WHOEVER peruses the Council of *Trent*, cannot but be strangely amazed, to find its stile so altogether unlike that of the ancient writings of the Church. There is in those I know not what characters of holiness and Christian majesty, which command reverence from all: but in this we meet with a sort of so unusual and dubious expressions, that shew the Authors of it were incomparably better versed in political

practices, or Books of School-men, then in the Works of the Fathers.

They never intended, in many of their Canons, to fix a true and uniform ſenſe, which all People might rely upon, but a double and captious one, apt to receive contrary interpretations; to ſatisfy men of different intereſts, and give them the mutual pleaſure of believing their aſſertions upheld by the autority of the Council.

And thus the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans* were equally contented with the Canons concerning Grace, and Juſtification. Each Party drew the autority of the Council to its own ſide: and there has not bin any Writer of theſe two Orders, who in their many Books, as oppoſite one to another as light is to darkneſs, has not alledged theſe very Canons, as invincible proofs againſt his adverſary.

II.

But if any ſhould enquire further, and ſearch into that vaſt multitude of Decrees unknown till then, he muſt needs wonder to find them built upon ſo ſandy Foundations.

The moſt general *Baſis* of them is laid

in

in the fourth Session, where the Council proposes two objects to our Faith, to wit, [a] *Books which are written, and Traditions which are not written.* And they pretend as a necessary consequence, that whatever we oppose against the Church of *Rome*, is of that kind. This is the Epitome of all the Council.

Nevertheless, least any one should be offended at the word *Tradition*, and perswade himself that they intend by it to equal mens autority to that of God, or humane Ceremonies to the sacred Precepts of the Gospell, they give of it a most magnificent character, calling it, [b] *The Word of Christ, a Doctrine inspired by the Holy Ghost, for the ordering our Faith and manners, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continued succession.*

If that Principle be true, there is an end of all Controversies; and were the Church of *Rome* as able to prove it, as she is ready to advance it, we might hope to see in our daies, that blessed Word of Christ accomplish't, [c] *There shall be one Fold and one Shepherd.*

And indeed there is no Protestant in the World, who doth not admit of a

[a] *Sess. 4.* [b] *Sess. ibid.* [c] *John 10. 16.*

Tradition endued with these Qualifications.

First, *That it be the Word of Christ.*
2. *Inspired by the Holy Ghost.*
3. *In matter of Faith and Manners.*
4. *Preserved in the Catholic Church by an uninterrupted succession.*

But there is no Protestant in the World that doth not maintain, such a Tradition cannot be proved: and is nothing else but one of those rich and splendid Idea's, as admirable and flattering in their speculation, as impossible and deceiving in their practice.

III.

For the perfect evidencing whereof we need but consider the following Proposals.

First, *That of all places of the Scriptures, whereby the Church of* Rome *asserts her Tradition, there is not so much as one alledged by the Fathers in her sense.*

Secondly, *That none of the Fathers ever understood Tradition otherwise, then for the unanimous consent of the Doctors of the Church, grounded upon a word which is written.*

Thirdly, *That no places in Scripture are ex-*

express for the authorizing such Tradition, but many positive and clear to prove the sufficiency of Scripture.

Fourthly, *That among the Traditions of the Church of* Rome, *she proposes many to our belief, which do not appertain at all either to Faith or manners.*

IV.

The Scripture is most holy, most infallible, most perfect in it self. The Gospel has added what was deficient in the Law. And the Apostles Writings supplied the defect of the Gospel. There we must stay. [d] *'Tis no less crime*, in S. *Basil*'s opinion, *to add that which is not written, then to reject that which is written.*

And 'tis a stupendious boldness, when God has vouchsafed to reveal his will to men by a certain and infallible word, to substitute another, neither clear nor undoubtedly received.

V.

That new word, which is ascribed to

[d] Ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, *Basil. l. de confess. Fid. Cathol.*

God,

God, has properly and by its self relation to those things which cannot be proved by Scripture, as one [a] of the Divines, present at *Trent*, has taken notice of, otherwise it would be a written word.

But if it be so, nothing is more unworthy of Christ, and less agreeable to his divine Oracles. It is to render his truth suspected, or uncertain; to expose Christians to infinite errors; to give them as many masters as there are persons who will profess themselves the Guardians of that word, and to make it the object of all mens scorn; since according to the excellent saying of S. *Jerome*, [f] *Quod de Scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eâdem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.*

VI.

We find not that Christ in his holy Gospel sends us to Tradition, whereby we may come to the knowledg of him. [g] *Search the Scriptures, they are they that testify of me.*

The Apostles speak as their Master. [h] *We have also a more sure word of Pro-*

[a] *Andradius.* [f] *Hieron. in Matth. c. 8. 13.* [g] *John 5. 39.* [h] *1 Pet. 1. 19.*

phecy,

place, whereunto you do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. [i] "Many, saies S. "*Chrysostom*, pretend to speak from the "Holy Ghost, but they do it falsly, as "long as they speak from themselves; "as Christ testifies he spoke not from "himself, but from the Law and the Pro-"phets; so if they proffer us any other "thing then the Gospel, under pretence "of its being inspired by the Holy Ghost, "let us be far from believing it.

"Is there any thing worse, saies [k] Pope "S. *Leo*, then to have impious sentiments, "and yet not to be willing to assent to "the more learned and wise? Those are "guilty of this folly, who when they "are hindred from knowing the truth "by any obscurity, do not recur to the "Prophetical Books, the Apostolical "Writings, and Evangelical autority, "but to themselves, and so become Ma-"sters and Teachers of error, because "they refused to be Disciples of Truth.

It would have bin very easy for [l] S. *Austin*, in that long and tedious Disputa-

[i] *Homil. de S. Spirit.* [k] *Epist. ad Flavian, Refer. Can. quid autem.* [l] *Caus. 24. quæst. 3. Can. 30.*

tion

tion with the *Donatists* concerning the Catholic Church, to have made an end of it, by sending them to Tradition. But instead of doing so, *Let us not hear*, saies he, *Hæc dico, hæc dicis*, but let us hear, *hæc dicit Dominus*." [1] We have the Lords "Books; Both of us acknowledg their "autority, both of us believe them, *ibi quæramus Ecclesiam, ibi discutiamus causam nostram: nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis Oraculis sanctam Ecclesiam demonstrari.*" We seek, as he there adds, where "the Church is: what shall we do? *in verbis nostris eam quæsituri sumus, an in verbis Domini?*" I think it is to be sought "in his words who is the TRUTH, and "knows perfectly her who is his Body. *Habeo manifestissimam vocem Pastoris mei, commendantis mihi & sine ullis ambagibus exprimentis Ecclesiam.* "If I suffer my self "to be reduced and separated from his "flock (which is the Church) by the "words of men, I will impute it to my "self, whereas he advertiz'd me, saying, [m] *My Sheep know my voice.*

'Tis the constant Doctrine of that admirable man in all his Works.

In his Letter to S. *Jerome*, "I confess

[1] *Lib. 2. de Bapt. contra Donat. c. 3.* [m] *John 3. 27.*

"to

"your Charity, saies he, "I give those "Books alone which are termed Canonical, that honor as to believe none of "their Authors did ever err.

In his Letter to *Vincent*, "o Do not "oppose therefore, Brother, to so many "and undoubted places, some of the "writings of the Bishops, either ours, "or those of *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and *Athanasius*. All these writings want the "Autority of the Canon, and we receive not their testimonies as things "which it is not lawful to dissent from, "if they are dissenting from the Truth.

Upon the 87. *Psalm*, "You read not "in the Gospel those whom you name, "neither do I see those whom I alledge. "Let us lay aside our Books, *procedat in medium Codex Dei.*

Finally against *Maximinus* the *Arian*, who relied upon the Council of *Ariminum*. "I ought not, saies he, p to cite "you the *Nicene* Council, nor you that "of *Ariminum*, as prejudices for our cause, *Scripturarum autoritatibus non quorumcunque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio*

n *Epist.* 19. *refer Can. Ego solv. Dist.* 9. o *Epistol. ad Vinc. refer. Can. noli Frater. Dis.* 9. p *Libr.* 3 c. 12.

cum ratione, concertet; & utrique tanti ponderis molibus cedamus.

Nay 'twas not only Bishops that thought so, but Lay-men themselves. "We are taught by the Gospel, saies "¶ *Constantine* to the *Nicene* Fathers, the "Apostolical Writings, and the Oracles "of the Prophets, what we must know of "God: let us therefore draw the expli-"cation of our doubts from the words "divinely inspired.

VII.

We intend not hereby to detract from any part of the high esteem every Christian ought to have for the Works of the Fathers. We consider them as the Masters of the Church, who instructed her, not only by the learned productions of their minds, but by the purity and good examples of their lives. We honor them as Preachers, who spake no less by the wounds they received for the defence of Christ, then by the words they made use of to make known his Doctrine. Nor could we behold without a just resentment a Minister of our Age to ab-

¶ Ex τῶν Θεοπνεύστων λόγων λαβόμενον τῶν ζητουμένων τὴν λύσιν, *Theod. l.* 1. *Hist. Eccl. c.* 6.

use

use their Writings in a Book entitled *De vero usu Patrum.* We acknowledg with the great S. *Austin*, [r] that these holy Men were *stabiles in antiquissima & robustissima Fide.* We call with the Primitive Councils our present Faith *the Faith of our Fathers* [s]. But we are not convinced that our respect should endue us to believe them infallible. After Gods Word none is of greater weight to us then theirs; but we are not bold enough to mingle & confound them. As a body grows not luminous but as it comes near the Sun to receive its impressions, so we do not see in them any certainty of light, but as they are conformable to the Scripture, which is certainty and light it self. And we think we give them all the praises they can expect from us, when we say, as S. [t] *Athanasius* did, of the *Nicene* Fathers, that *their Expositions of the Nicene Faith, according to divine Scriptures, are sufficient to destroy all Impiety, and confirm the belief of Christ.*

VIII.

But that which is more to be wondred

[r] *l. 2. de nup. & Conc. c. 24.* [s] *Conc. Chalced. ac. 8. 8. 10. &c. Epist. Euseb. relat. à Theod. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 11.* [t] *Athan. Ep. ad Epict.*

at, is, that none of the controverted points has ever bin preserved in the Catholic Church, as a point of Faith, and agreeable to the consent of the Fathers: a truth expressly maintained by a learned [1] Bishop of this Kingdom, who successfully challeng'd any of the Roman Communion to a contradiction.

I would call for no other evidence then the Canon of this very Session, §. 4. which ordains under pain of Excommunication to admit of those Books as Canonical, that had never bin such, with the same veneration as those which had bin constantly kept by the Church. All [2] Councils, Fathers, Ages, ancient and modern Writers exclaim against that Decree, and there is no man, tho but commonly read in Ecclesiastical writings, that can deny it.

Notwithstanding the Council doth anathematize those that dissent from its Canons, Pope *Paul* and *Pius* the IV. exact a dreadful Oath of it, and make the People swear upon the Gospel, to receive as certain and undoubted that which all

[1] *Jewell.* [2] *Conc. Laodic. can. 34. Jos. l. 1. contr. App. Euseb. l. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. 26. Melit. Sardic. apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 26. &c.*

the

the learned of the Church of *Rome* had lookt upon before as evidently falſe.

IX.

The Decree which conſecrates the vulgar Tranſlation is moſt ſtrange, but nothing is like the declaration of the Cardinals, who aſſure us, *Quod ne vel iota unum repugnat in veteri vulgata Latinæ linguæ editione,* tho Pope *Clement* VIII. confeſſes in the Preface to his Edition, [1] *many things were purpoſely omitted which ſhould have bin changed.* Let it be ſaid with all due reſpect to their Eminencies, that ſo ſurprizing aſſurances ſhew either deep ignorance, or a wonderful unſincerity, or the greateſt boldneſs in the World.

X.

The [2] Articles of Juſtification, which eſtabliſh the merit of our Works in a manner ſo injurious to the Grace of our Redeemer, are no leſs oppoſite to the ancient Church. That holy Mother conſtantly inſtructed her Sons in all times, [a] *That we are by nature the Children of wrath;* [b] *That God works in us both to will and to do*

[1] *Bull. Clem. VIII. ante Edit. Vulg.* [2] *Seſſ. 6. Can. 32.* [a] *Eph. 2. 3.* [b] *Phil. 2. 13.*

of

of his good pleasure. [e] *That we are not sufficient* of our selves *to think any thing of our selves, but our sufficiency is of God.*

She has bin taught by Christ himself, [f] *Without me ye can do nothing; if the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed,* [g] *and no man can come to me, except the Father which has sent me, draw him.*

She has bin informed by her Doctors, that *when God is pleased to Crown in us our merits, he Crowns but his gifts: that unless he gives us what he commands us, his Law instead of a spirit giving life, becomes to us a killing Letter.*

She has determined in her Council [i], *That no man is free for doing any good thing, but by Gods Grace:* that *God expects not our will, but prepares it according to what is written in his word* [k]; that *when we fall into any sin we do it of our selves, and of our own will,* [l] *but when we do any good Action, 'tis out of his alone.*

Let any unprejudiced person read the Canons of the Council of *Orange* (where S. *Hilary* being President, Christs Grace triumph't so entirely over all its enemies)

[e] 2 *Corinth.* 3. 5. [f] *John* 15. 5. *Ibid.* 8. 36. [g] *Ibid.* 6. 44.
[i] *Concil. Arauz. c.* 12. [k] *Can.* 8. [l] *Can.* 23.

and

and compare them with those of *Trent*, he will be amazed at so strange a contrariety.

But when we are so earnest in throwing down our pretended merits to raise a glorious Trophy to our Faith, we intend not to patronize Libertinism, and give way to those licentious opinions, which are the natural consequences drawn from the Doctrines of some Reformers.

Faith, whereby a man is justified, is not barren, and like that of the Devil, which is of no use but to prolong and foment his disorders. It is a Faith which, as the Apostles stiles it, [i] *works by love*; which makes us look upon Christ as the Foundation and only Source of our Salvation; breeds in us an ardent desire of him. That love *which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost* [k] promts us to put our whole trust in him, and to practise by the Soveraign power of his Grace, what his Gospell teacheth is required of us.

S. *Austin* incomparably expresses this great Truth in these words, which the Church has so much admired as to make a [l] Canon of them. [m] *Verily, verily, I say*

[i] *Gal.* 5. 6. [k] *Rom.* 5. 5. [l] *Can. Charitas de pœnit. Dist.* 2. [m] *John* 6. 47.

unto

unto you, he that believes in me hath everlasting life: He therefore who has not everlasting life, believes not in Christ: but he believes in Christ that has Charity, for to believe in Christ est tendere in ipsum amando, *is to be enclined to him by Love. It is to this the remissions of sins hath bin promised,* hunc remissio peccatorum promittitur. *But if Love cannot be separated from Christian Faith, how can he that wants Charity have Christian Faith, that is, believe in Christ?*

Faith is therefore the Spring of our love, and love the Source of our Works. [a] *What is it to love God*, continues that holy Doctor, *but to be inwardly adherent to him; to conceive an ardent desire of seeing him, an hatred of sin, a distast to the World, a Charity for our Neighbour, whom he has commanded us to love, and so strictly to observe in our Charity the rules he has prescribed us in his Law, as never to pervert its order.*

But let it be far from Christians to think our Faith or Love come from us. *If any believes*, saies the [b] Council of *Orange*, *he can do any good action*, quod ad salutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, *by the strength of nature, and without being enlightned and*

[a] *Can. Charitas.* §. *Ergo. ibid.* [b] *Can.* 7.

in-

inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, who poures into our hearts a ſuavity which makes us aſſent to, and believe the truth, that man haretico fallitur ſpiritu, not attending to what Chriſt pronounces in his Goſpel, [p] *Without me ye can do nothing. Nor to the words of the Apoſtle,* [q] *We are not ſufficient of our ſelves to think any thing as of our ſelves, but our ſufficiency is of God.*

There are in man, ſaies the ſame Council, [r] *many good things, which man doth not do, but in thoſe he doth, there are none but what God doth in him.*

No man, ſaies another Canon, [s] *has of himſelf but falſhood and ſin; but if any hath truth and righteouſneſs, 'tis of him Quem debemus ſitire in hac eremo, ut ex eo quaſi quibuſdam guttis irrorati non deficiamus in via.*

Good God! how far are the Canons of *Trent* from the holineſs and humility of theſe! how repugnant to the eſtabliſht Doctrine of the Church, and the ſentiments of the Fathers, are the proud and Pelagian principles of the *Jeſuits!*

XI.

The Anathema's of the ſeventh Seſſion

[p] *John* 15. 5. [q] 2 *Corinth.* 3. 5. [r] *Can.* 26. [s] *Can.* 22.

being no better grounded, are not more to be feared; the Council cuts off from the Church, which is the Body of Christ, those who admit of more or less then seven Sacraments.

It is evident that such a Principle cannot be proved by the Scripture. We must then recur to the *unwritten Word*. Sure so important a truth has bin preserved in the Catholic Church, and nothing ought to be more obvious in the writings of the Fathers.

Nevertheless, not a word for twelve whole Ages; and that so long uninterrupted silence had never bin broken, had not the master of the Sentences and other Scholastics brought it into the World.

Indeed we find every where in the writings of the Fathers that the Adult must give an account of the Faith they professed at their [t] Baptism, and receive the [u] imposition of hands from the Bishop. We meet every where with Repentance, Penance, and Confession of Sins. We see [x] every where the power of ordaining Priests so committed to the Bishops by Christ, that all Ordinations from other

[t] *Can. ante Baptisa.* [u] *Can. baptisand.* [x] *Can. postquam de Consecrat. dist. 4.*

hands

hands were esteemed unlawful and sacrilegious. But we find no where all these things to be Sacraments. And no man can sufficiently wonder how the Fathers at *Trent* propose as an Article of Faith *grounded upon Tradition*, a thing they are obliged to confess was never spoken of in the Church for twelve hundred years.

XII.

The *Unwritten word* doth no more favor the Canon which establishes Transubstantiation then the others, and we have from the ancient writings so many places against this Doctrine, that we cannot conceive how it came into the World.

[x] *Tertullian* writing against *Marcion*, who denied that Christ had a real Body, tells him, *Christ made his Body of the Bread he distributed, saying; This is my Body, that is, the figure of my Body, Figura Corporis mei; but it had never bin a Figure, Si veritatis corpus non esset, had not the Truth, (Christ) had a real Body.*

Christ, saies [y] *Theodoret*, *honored the Symbols and signs of the Sacrament with the*

[x] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 40. [y] *Dial.* 1. *pag.* 18.

name of his Body and Blood, not changing their nature, ὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλων, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προσθεὶς, but adding his Grace to their nature.

S. [a] Jerome is no less positive then Theodoret, The Flesh and Blood of Christ, saies he, are understood two several waies, either of that spiritual and divine Flesh, of which he saies himself, My Flesh is meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed, and, [a] Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you; or, my Flesh which was nailed upon the Cross, and my Blood which was shed by the Souldiers Spear.

S. [b] Austin, who is, justly esteemed the Oracle of the Western Churches, adds a pregnant testimony to this Assertion. The first heresy, saies he, in the Disciples of Christ was occasioned by the hardness of his words: for when he told them, [c] Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you: they not apprehending him, said one to another, [d] This is a hard saying, who can bear it? In saying

[a] In cap. 1. Epist. ad Eph. & refert. Can. duplicit. de Consecr. dist. 2. [a] John 6. 55. [b] in Psal. 54. [c] John 6. 55. [d] John 6. 60.

this

this is hard, they ſeparated themſelves from him. But he remained with his twelve Diſciples, and taught them ſaying, * *It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing; the words I ſpeak unto you, they are ſpirit, and they are life. Do you underſtand them in a ſpiritual manner, they are ſpirit and life; do you underſtand them in a carnal manner, they they are no leſs ſpirit, but not for thee who underſtandeſt them not ſpiritually. Spiritually apprehend what I have ſaid, Non hoc corpus quod videtur manducaturi eſtis, & bibituri ſanguinem quem effuſuri ſunt, qui me crucifigent. The Sacrament I recommend to you quickneth when it is underſtood ſpiritually, but the fleſh profiteth nothing. They anſwered him according to their apprehenſion, for they underſtood this fleſh, as it is uſed to be ſold in a carcaſs, or torn in the ſhambles.* Jeſus *knowing their error, ſaid to them, What I told you of giving you my Body to eat, and my Blood to drink, ſcandalizeth you; but what will you ſay, if you ſee the Son of Man aſcending to the place where he was before? He reſolves here what he had propoſed to them: he ſhews them that which they were ſcandalized*

* John 6. 63.

by,

by, to the end they might apprehend him. In this manner they thought he would have given them his Body, Ille dixit se ascensurum in cælum, utique integrum, When you shall see the Son of Man ascending to the place where he was before, then you will know he gives not his Body as you understand it. You will then apprehend that his Grace non consumitur morsibus; till the end of the World the Lord is above, but yet the truth of the Lord is upon Earth with us; Corpus enim in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oportet, veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est.

That incomparable Doctor speaks after the same manner when he teacheth, that all places of the Scripture, which seem contrary to truth and good manners, are to be understood in a figurative sense.

If you find, [f] saies he, *a Commandment which forbids a crime, or enjoins any good action, then its sense is not figurative; but it is otherwise when it seems to command a crime, and prohibit a good action.* [g] *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood ye have no life in you, saies Christ. That word seems to command a crime,*

[f] *De Doctrin. Christ. lib.* 3. *c.* 10. 16. [g] *John* 6. 55

figura

figura eſt ergo, it is therefore a figure, which bids us communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and recall into our memories with ſuavity and utility, that his fleſh hath bin wounded and nailed upon the Croſs for us.

XIII.

To what the Church of *Rome* believes concerning Tranſubſtantiation, we may add her practice in taking away the Cup. She is not contented with changing the nature of a Sacrament, but thinks it lawfull to tear and divide it.

All the learned men of her Communion aſſent to the following Propoſitions.

Firſt, That Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood under both kinds of Bread and Wine.

Secondly, That he inſtituted it thus for all Chriſtians, and ſaid [h] *drink*, as he ſaid *eat*, without any diſtinction of of Prieſts and Lay-men being the Savior of all.

Thirdly, That at leaſt for twelve hundred years ſuch a practiſe hath bin faith-

[h] *Matth. 26. 26.*

fully

fully obſerved in all the Churches in the World, and is ſtill in the Eaſtern.

Fourthly, That its intermiſſion is not grounded upon any invincible reaſon, or irremediable inconveniences. For it would be the greateſt piece of non-ſenſe in the World to affirm, that the Church of *Rome* in the thirteenth Age hath ſeen inconveniencies, which the Catholic Church could not foreſee in twelve hundred years, and the Greek is ſtill ignorant of.

Yet the Council of *Trent* perſevered in ſo conſiderable an innovation, ſtops its ears to the cries of an infinite number of Souls, who beſeech their Fathers ſubſtance might not be ſo cruelly divided, and ſtiles this *a Liberty the Church has always had Miſtreſs of, to diſpenſe Sacraments as ſhe judges it convenient.*

But ſuppoſe the Sacrament to be no leſs compleat under one kind then both, and that the Cup is but an addition to it: We, notwithſtanding, maintain the Church hath no autority to change any thing Chriſt hath inſtituted, and preſcribes the obſervation of. All reaſons in ſuch occaſions muſt be ſuſpected, when Chriſt himſelf ſpeaks, promulgates himſelf

ſelf his own Laws, and commands them to be put in execution, as he hath done here, all our pretended inconveniences are then groſs errors, nor muſt we affect to be wiſer then the eternal Wiſdom, who foreſaw better then we can do, the reaſons of our ſcandals.

Had Chriſt inſtituted all the Ceremonies the Church judged neceſſary for the greater decency of her Worſhip, and commanded the obſervation of them, it would be a dreadful crime to cut off the leaſt.

But Pope *Geleſius* ſpeaks not of that diviſion as of the taking away of a ſimple Ceremony; [i] *We heard*, ſaies he, *that ſome by I know not what ſuperſtition, after having received the ſacred Body refuſed the Cup of the precious Blood. But for ſuch*, aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur. The reaſon of that learned Pope is worthy to be weighed, *becauſe*, ſaies he, *diviſio unius ejuſdemque myſterii ſine grandi ſacrilegio non poteſt pervenire.* One and the ſame myſtery cannot be divided without a grand ſacriledge.

[i] *Epiſt. ad Maſſoric. & Joan. Epiſc. & refer. c. comperimus de conſecrat. &c. diſt.* 2.

Pope *Gelasius* and the Fathers of *Trent* are wonderfully opposed: these say the Sacrament *is no less perfect under one kind then under both*; *that such a division is a wise dispensation, which cannot be reasonably contradicted*: the other calls the distribution of the precious Body and Blood one and the same Sacrament, and stiles that prudent dispensation, *a division of two things united by Christ, which cannot be done without an horrid sacriledg*.

Which then of the two, *Gelasius* or *Paul* III. must be supposed to have pronounced *ex Cathedra*? If the *Jesuits* are chosen Judges between them, *Gelasius* shall be condemned: for *Salmero* and another of his Society were so impious as to say in the midst of the Council, *that sometimes the Devil transforms himself into an Angell of Light, but now appears covered with the Cup of Christs Blood to offer a draught of poyson.*

But as if it had not bin enough to have committed so great an enormity, without adding to it an insufferable ignorance, these two most holy and learned Fathers (as a most holy and learned *Jesuit* styles them, all the members of that Society being *ipso facto* most holy and learned)

learned) begged of Cardinal *Madruccio*, *That it might be added to the Canons already made, that the Sacrament was instituted under both kinds only for the Apostles and Priests.*

XIV.

The Canons of the fourteenth Session are no less opposite to Antiquity, wherein the Council defines Repentance to be a Sacrament: a Doctrine unknown till the time of *Eugenius* IV. The Arch-Bishop of *Cæsarea* tells us in a Book he entitled *De Reformatione Scholasticæ* (which he considered as a great step to that of the Church) that *Eugenius* ascribed it to the *Florentine* Council, tho such a Decree had never bin read or seen there. 'Tis an effect of the Popes usual sincerity. So that for twelve hundred years together the Church is silent in this point.

Now what must a Christian think of a Council, that gives to our human satisfactions and poor Sacrifices the power due only to the unspeakable merits of Christ? Who without just indignation can hear *that our Alms and Fastings expiate our sins, and preserve us from eternal Death?* Did ever any Councils, Fathers, or Divines

run into such excesses? not do we pretend to embrace the other extreme, and diswade Christians from that life, wch the Saints term *a Cross and a Martyrdom*. We think that it not only obliges Penitents but Innocents also, and we are struck with fear at these words of Christ, [k] *Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish*. But far be it from us to confine our Repentance to some transient and slight exercices of Piety. We require that sinners die continually to themselves, that they think no pleasures lawful but such as the miseries of humane life render necessary and unavoidable; that they endure rather then enjoy them, and bewail the blindness and obdurateness of an infinite number of Souls, who being made drunk by the pride and wantonness of the World, are irrecoverably ruined.

But when a sinner groans under a voluntary pressure, fasts, praies, and impoverisheth himself to enrich the poor, instead of puffing him up with self-conceit, and flattering him with a perswasion that he satisfies God, we depress him more and more, still repeating to him this Lesson, That according to the Oracles

[k] *Luke* 23. 3.

of

of the Word of God, and the practise of his Saints, * *the most laudable life examined in his Justice, is an abomination in his sight, and that the greatest penitent in the most burning fervor of his Penance for his sins past, stands in need at every moment of new mercy to obliterate and forgive the present.*

XV.

Nor do we less wonder at the Anathema pronounc'd by the Fathers at *Trent*, against those that think Attrition with Confession insufficient for the pardon of sins. That is, those who believe the very same that till then was constantly a part of the Churches belief, and are perswaded that a man desisting from sin against God, out of fear of punishment, is not accounted guiltless by him.

This their Assertion is so true, that the learned men of the Church of *Rome* are at a loss to give a favorable interpretation to the words of the Council. And we have seen a [1] Bishop in *Flanders* so admirable and profound every where else, scarce understood when he endeavors to make the Council speak, what he is perswaded it should.

* *Augustin.* [1] *Jansenius lib. 5. de Grat. Christ. Salvat. c. 34.*

To

To perceive at first sight all the consequences of this Principle, we need but consider the abominable interpretations *Jesuits* have given of it. Both the doctrine & practise of these Friars is so enormous upon that point, that we want words to express it. This is the foundation whereon *Bauny*, *Escobar*, *Tambourin*, *Sanchez*, *Vasquez*, and other such Monsters, build their infamous Morals. Wherein they are not contented to teach all manner of crimes, but afford means how to commit them with impunity, and as much as in them lies, cheat both God and their consciences. But leaving these favorers of sin to Gods judgements, let it suffice us to say, that we are so far from blaming Fear in general, that we acknowledge [m] *there is a chast fear which endureth for ever more.* We learn from the sacred Writings, that *fear of eternal pains is the beginning of Wisdom. None*, saies S. [n] *Austin*, *can come to love but by fear, he must begin with the chain of Iron, before he be adorned with the Golden Neck-lace.*

So when God strikes a sinner with the fear of his Judgements, 'tis the first step to his Conversion: but if he never goes

[m] *Psal.* 120. 19. [n] *In Ps.* 144.

further

further he ſhall never be juſtified in his ſight. Love is *at leaſt* an eſſential condition for the forgiving our ſins. We are juſtified by Faith, but it is by *Faith that worketh by Love* °, not by a dead Faith, which brings forth nothing, nor by a ſterile one, which goes not ſo far as to produce fear; nor by a ſlaviſh one, which only refrains us thro the apprehenſions of puniſhment, and would never leave off ſinning, did it not ſtill behold the thunder of Divine vengeance alwaies hanging over it; but by a Faith full of Love and pious zeal, which in the ſtricteſt bonds unites our hearts to our crucified Savior, gives us a lively repreſentation of his ſufferings, revives in us an ardent deſire of ſhaking off the vices of the old Man, to be inveſted with the life and vertues of the New. To renounce all things for our Redeemer, and at leaſt *to love our God*, as S. *Auſtin* excellently preſcribes, *with as much fidelity and ardency as we have loved the Creatures.*

In the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle ᵖ we find that the great advantage of the Sons of God, above thoſe of the Devil, and their true and intrinſecal diſtinction, is, *to*

° *Gal.* 5. 6. ᵖ *Rom.* 8. & 9.

have

have bin divested of the spirit of bondage to fear, which belongs properly to the Jews, and to have received *the Spirit of Adoption*, which is the lot of Christians. The one brings them to God as to their Father, the other frights them as with the presence of their Judge.

But till Faith, [q] *which worketh by Love*, hath enlarged our hearts, and begotten in us the disposition of Sons, there is no hopes of pardon. For let us dispute to the end of the World, tire our Readers with the multitude and subtlety of our distinctions, and make our fancies the Rules of Gods Decrees, those only shall receive pardon whom Grace hath converted, and made his Sons.

Fear is good and usefull, [r] *bonus est iste timor, utilis est*, those that are struck with it, *saluberrimo timore quatiuntur*. But 'tis insufficient, and something more is required. 'Tis the Jews gift, the Character of the Slaves, the spirit of the old Testament, [s] *ibi plebs longè stabat, timor erat, amor non erat*. 'Tis an [t] effect of that universal infirm Grace God has granted to all men, but not of that particular and

[q] *Aug. in Psal.* 127. *Id. l. de Catec. rud. c.* 5. [r] *Id. Ser.* 6. *de Verb. Apost.* [s] *Id. ibid.*

victo-

victorious one which Christ hath got for us by his death; and poured into our hearts by the Holy Ghost. [t] *Cum enim adest vivificans spiritus, hoc ipsum intus conscriptum facit diligi, quod foris scriptum lex faciebat timeri.*

The Fathers of the Primitve times apprehended the nature of that fear quite in another manner then the Fathers of *Trent* did.

First, They did consider that its Source was nothing else but a prodigious self-love. They that are in those dispositions of fear the Council is satisfied with, do not seek so much to return to their God, and give themselves to him, as to preserve their quiet and their bodies in the future life. [u] *Propterea enim timentur apud inferos pœnæ, & dolores ac tormenta Gehennarum.*

Secondly, They knew that a man whom fear only refrains from sinning, loses not the love and desire of sin, but sins still in his heart, [x] *Sic profecto in ipsa intus voluntate peccat, qui non voluntate, sed timore non peccat.*

[t] *Id. l. de spir. & litt. c.* 19. [u] *Id. Serm.* 114. *de temp. c.* 3. [x] *Id. l.* 1. *ad Bonif. c.* 9.

S. [y] *Austin* compares these persons to a wife who is not true to her husband but because she is afraid of being punished if she be found not so. 'Tis certain she commits adultery in her heart, since she would not persevere innocent if she could contract guilt without punishment.

'Tis like a Wolf, saies that holy Doctor, who being surprized by the watchfull Shepherd, and the cry of the Dogs, is obliged to fly without doing any harm: he is not cruel and bloody, he tears no Sheep in pieces. *Venit fremens, redit tremens,* [z] *he came on raging, returns trembling,* but in these two circumstances he is still a Wolf. He doth not execute his bad design, nor yet doth he leave it. *Lupus est tamen & fremens & tremens.*

Thirdly, They were perswaded that the righteousness which fear produces in a sinner is from the Law and men, which the Apostle counts [a] *but dung; who sees not,* saies one of the Fathers, [b] *that righteousness which is from the Law comes from men,*

[y] *Id. tract. 9. in Epist. Joan.* [z] *Id. Serm. 14. de verb. Apost. c. 9.* [a] *Phil. 3. 8.* [b] *Fulg. l. 2. de Incar. & Grat. Christi. c. 27.*

but

but that which is by Christ comes from God? Justitiam vero quæ ex fide Christi est, non esse nisi ex Deo. A man may be still sinfull and Gods enemy with such a righteousnels. *Ideo cum in illa quæ ex lege est justitia sine querela conversaretur Apostolus, fuisse se impium non negat.*

Fourthly, they taught, That sorrow conceiv'd only out of fear of punishment, is a sorrow of Infidels, and that if God were satisfied with that, there is no man in the World that could chuse but be innocent; since no man that has but the least *Idea* of the life to come, but is moved with its apprehension. [c] *Non enim peccare metuit sed ardere.*

This is a principle the Fathers have with unanimous consent maintained. This the Popes in former Ages taught, Nay those that sit now in the Apostolical See would do so too, if with the modesty and humility of their Predecessors they had not also rejected their doctrine.

XVI.

The Council seems, in its last Session,

[c] *Aug. Epist.* 144. *ad Anast.*

to gather all its ſtrength againſt thoſe who reject Purgatory, and deprive Saints, Images, and Reliques of their due honor.

Yet it appears the Fathers of *Trent* agreed, that all thoſe things, Purgatory excepted, are not founded upon Scripture, but only upon the General Councils and Writings of the Fathers. This is collected out of the very words of the Decree, the Council there ſpeaking of Eccleſiaſtical antiquity, but not a word of the Scripture.

A Perſon of extraordinary merit has undertaken to lay open the myſteries of Purgatory, and as he leaves nothing unſaid on that ſubject, ſo none can take it ill if I refer my Reader to him.

For thoſe other things, Invocation of Saints, Images, and Reliques, 'tis eaſy in a few words to ſhew how infirm their ground us in the ancient Doctrine of the Church.

All learned men in the Church of *Rome* admit of the following Propoſitions.

Firſt, That nothing in the Scripture authorizes theſe practices, or at leaſt,

[a] *Seſſ.* 25.

no-

nothing sure, fixt, cleer, and undoubted.

Secondly, That all places taken out of Scripture, by modern Writers to prove these things, have never bin made use of by the Ancients for that purpose, and so are of no autority, the ancients being most holy and assured Interpreters of the Scriptures.

Thirdly, That till the seventh pretended General Council, that is, for eight hundred years, there was not any decision made of them.

Fourthly, That to this pretended General Council, we oppose others acknowledged General by the Collector of the Councils, but as all learned men confess, endued with these Qualities.

1. More exact in the Discussion of matters, as it appears by their Acts.
2. Called by an holy Emperor and peculiar Benefactor to the Church of *Rome*.
3. Free from all Suspicions of oppression which the seventh is guilty of.
4. That the consent of the Fathers upon that Doctrine is neither clear nor unanimous

nimous; and that if in any of later date there be some places tending that way, there are in the same, and many others a thousand contrary places to invalidate them.

5. That if we speak according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome* it self, there can no more then a simple probability be pleaded in this case, and that none of the greatest neither, but to both parties favorable.

But there is not a Divine in the World who dares affirm, that an Article of Faith can be built upon a simple probability, nor declare them impious and blasphemous who have a contrary probability, nor excommunicate them and separate them from the Church, that is, inflict upon them the most dreadful punishment.

How could the Fathers of *Trent* therefore do this? why did they not fear that threatning of the wise Man[e], *Sicut avis in incertum volans & quolibet vadens, sic maledictum frustra prolatum venit super eum qui misit illud*? Nor that of *Origen*[f], when

[e] *Prov.* 26. 2. [f] *Orig. sup. Lect.* cap. 24. *Hom.* 14. & *refer. Can. cum aliquis. cap.* 24. *quæst.* 3.

a

a man is unjustly put out of the Church, he ceaseth not to be within, when he that thinks himself within may be really out?

XVII.

Saints pray in general for all Christians. For tho they triumph in Heaven, yet they are her members, who strives and combats upon Earth. They are indeed united to their Head, which is Christ, but yet they still preserve the remembrance of the Body, which is the Church.

They are a part of that Spouse, *who*, as S. *Bernard* [g] saies, *sighs after the Bridegroome, and begs a kiss from his mouth*; wisheth for the end of the World, that Christ would hasten his Judgement, and manifest that day wherein he will begin to be all in all.

'Tis in that very sense the Apostle saies, [h] *The whole Creation groans and travails in pain till now, even we our selves groan within our selves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit the Redemption of our Body*, ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος.

[g] *Ser.* 1. *super Cantic.* [h] *Rom.* 8. 22.

So

So S. *Cyprian* assures us, *That the Saints being secure of their immortality are careful of our Salvation.*

S. *Jerome* argues against *Vigilantius* in this manner. *If the Apostles and Martyrs being yet in their Bodies, can pray for others, much more when they have conquered, are crowned and triumph.*

And S. *Austin* yet more perfectly, *The Saints in Heaven*, saies he, *offering their prayers for the necessity of those that pray, God grants to every one all those comforts he judges most suitable to them in the miseries of the present life.*

But there is a vast difference between the Invocation whereby we direct our Prayers to the Saints, and the intercession of the Saints for us. And none of these things are to be found in the Tradition.

1. That the Saints pray for any particular person.

2. That they obtain any favors for us by their own merits.

[1] *Lib. de immortal.* [2] *Lib. de Cur. pro mort. gerend. c.* 16.

3.

3. That it is lawful to honor them with a religious worſhip.

XVIII.

And to diſcover with how little ſincerity the Council of *Trent* ſpeaks of this cuſtom, that it has bin preſerved [l] *à primævis Chriſtianæ Religionis temporibus*, it is enough to ſay, that their moſt learned Men confeſs it was the ſentiment of the Primitive Fathers, that the Souls of the Saints ſhould not enjoy the ſight of God till the day of Judgement; and conſequently could neither ſpeak in favor of us, nor offer to him our praiers. *S. Irene*, *Juſtin*, *S. Clement*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *S. Ambroſe*, *S. Chryſoſtom*, *S. Auguſtin*, *Eutimius*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Aretas*, are ſaid to have bin of that opinion. Nay S. [m] *Bernard* preach'd it: which ſhews that this Doctrine continued till the twelfth Age of the Church.

[l] *Seſſ.* 25. [m] *Ser.* 3 & 4 *in feſt. omnium Sanct.*

XIX.

Indeed we cannot too much honor thoſe holy men, who preſerve with an undaunted reſolution the precious Treſures committed to their charge. We muſt admire them in the powerful effects of Chriſts Grace, who in a corruptible fleſh and a ſinfull World has preſerved them pure and undefiled. The conſtancy of Martyrs, the auſterity of Penitents, the inviolated purity of Virgins, who deſpiſed all other ambition beſides that of being near *the Lamb*, deſerve all our Praiſes. Nay a true Chriſtian makes his actions conformable to his Praiſes, imitates what he extolls, and conſiders thoſe excellent Patterns as ſo many reproches to the diſorders and remiſneſs of his life. But he is not induced thereby to invocate them, to aſcribe to them what is due to God alone, and offer them Prayers, which being commanded neither by the Precepts of Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, ſpring rather from a blind Superſtition, then a well ordered Piety. " *Non Religioni*

" *Tertull, de Orat. c.* 12.

ſed

ſed Superſtitioni deputantur.

XX.

But ſuppoſing the Church of *Rome* had ſome ſmall ground in Antiquity for the Invocation of Saints, ſhe has not the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon for the worſhipping their Images.

Nor is it difficult to prove, that Images o are a remnant of heathenish Ceremonies, which a blind zeal for the memory of the Apoſtles brought into the Church. Hence the Fathers of the Primitive times became extremly zealous to interdict not only their worſhip, but their very ſight in the Churches. So *Origen*, *Euſebius* p, *Juſtin Martyr*, &c. inveigh on all occaſions againſt Images. The *Eliberitan* Council, where the great *Oſius* q was preſent, he whom the Councils r ſtile *their Father and Maſter*, condemns by an expreſs Canon the placing any ſort of Images in Churches. S, s *E-*

o *Euſeb. l.* 2. *Hiſt. Eccl. c.* 17. p *Euſeb. in Chron. an.* 197. *&* 119. *Juſt. orat. ad Ant. p.* 132. q *Can.* 56. r *Conc. Niten.* 2. *a.*, 6. s *Epiſtol ad Joan. Hieroſolym.*

piphanius forbids the having Images in Churches, or in the Crypts of the Martyrs. And to shew that his practice did not contradict his Precepts, he gives an account to *John* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, how having found at the entrance of the Church at *Anablatta* an Image of our Savior, painted upon a Curtain, *he tore it, and wished the Priests to make use of it for the burial of some poor person.*

XXI.

But it is clearer then the light, that by the word *Adoration* the holy Fathers meant all manner of Worship. Those famous men had a Divinity of sense not of terms: they were not acquainted with those Distinctions which became the whole business of Scholastics in succeeding Ages. They no less included external worship then internal, and thought not the one less dangerous then the other.

S. *Augustin* was not perswaded that a man could so purify his intentions in adoring an Image, but that the Wood and

and Stone muſt needs bear ſome part in it. *Who is the man*, ſaies that holy Doctor, *who looking upon an Image, either worſhips or praiſeth, qui non ſic afficitur, ut ab eo ſe exaudiri putet? hoc enim facit & quodammodo extorquet figura membrorum.* I know, ſaies the ſame Saint, in his admirable [t] Book *De Moribus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, That there are many worſhippers of the Sepulchres and Pictures of Martyrs, Multos Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores. But I adviſe you not to take occaſion thence of ſlandering the Catholic Church, in aggravating the faults of thoſe People whom ſhe her ſelf condemns, quos ipſa condemnat & corrigere ſtudet.*

This excellent place ſhews that there are many diſorders in the Church, the Church is not at all guilty of, and that thoſe are in the wrong, who charge a whole Society with the faults of ſome of its particular members.

So that when we ſpeak againſt worſhipping of Images, we exclaim not againſt that ſhameful traffick exerciſed in the Churches of the Mendicants, neither

[t] *In Pſal.* 113. 2. *par. Pſal.* [u] *Cap.* 34.

againſt

against those Chappels set round with pieces of wax and silver, nor against those false Miracles, which are only so many baits, whereby covetous Monks delude the ignorant and simple, and enrich themselves.

All these things *Ecclesia Romana condemnat & corrigere studet*. It is well known the pious men of these Monasteries are troubled at such abuses, and Bishops wish they were able to apply a remedy to them. But we combat the Decrees and Canons of the Roman Church, things to which the contrary sentiments are by her stiled *Impiety*. We give them no other sense, then she her self would put upon them; and we maintain in their most favorable interpretation, that she has made Laws of some points, *quas ipsa Ecclesia Catholica condemnat, & corrigere studet.*

XXII.

There is not a learned person in the Church of *Rome*, who doth not consent, that to paint God Almighty has bin accounted

counted a crime for twelve hundred years.

'Tis not lawfull for a Christian, saies S.t *Austin*, *to put in any Church the Image of God in a humane shape.* Nevertheless the Council of *Trent* makes it a Virtue to admit of them. There is not a Church in which you may not see the unworthy Pictures of an immense and incomprehensible God, whose most perfect delineation consists in the impossibility both Men and Angels lie under of conceiving any. The Popes Chappell is filled with them; and his holiness is pleased to forget that one of his † Predecessors calls it *a folly and an extreme Impiety.*

XXIII.

Neither is there any understanding person who doth not acknowledge, that the most obstinate Defenders of Images never went so far as to maintain, that this soveraign Worship should be rendred to them which is due to God alone. 'Tis by this only reason, they pretend to

† *Lib. de Fid. & Symbol. c.* 17. † *Damas. or the Author, l.* 4. *Orthodoxæ Fidei. l.* 4. *c.* 17.

free

free themſelves of that Idolatry which was laid to their charge. So that it is a meer evaſion of thoſe who anſwer to all the authorities of the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Ages againſt Images, that they were levelled only againſt Divine and ſupreme worſhip, being a ridiculous dealing, no way chargeable upon grave Men. But the Church of *Rome* to perſwade the receiving of theſe things, calls them with an incredible inſincerity, *Ancient practices*; ſtrives to amuze people by ſwelling and high flown words; and becauſe he miſerably abandons himſelf to his own reaſon, and ſinks under the moſt horrid Impiety who reſpects not true Councils and Fathers, that of *Trent* ſpeaks of nothing but Apoſtolical Traditions, Conſent of Fathers, and authority of Councils.

XXIV.

All theſe magnificent promiſes are reduced to a miſerable Conventicle, held in the eighth Age, to which no Weſtern Biſhops, nor any of the two parts of the Eaſt, not one of the three

Pa-

Patriarchs of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, came; which Pope *Nicholas* I. and *Adrian* II. durst never call General.

2. A Council was called by a cruel and disordered Prince; wherein *Irene* his mother was President, so ambitious and unnatural a woman, that she commanded the eyes of her own Son to be plucked out.

3. A Council, at which the most considerable person present was *Tharasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man who, as Pope *Adrian* describes him, from a Lay-man became Bishop, from an illiterate Courtier, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, whom the same Pope (saith he) *observed as a Monster, ut monstrum esset barbaris, made Bishop against all Ordinances and Canons.*

4. A Council that founded its Decrees upon Visions and meer Fables, such as one of the meanest spirit must needs be offended at. The Image of our Saviour given to King *Abgarus*, the Leprosy, Baptism, and miraculous recovery of

[a] *Basil. Diac. Hist. in Constant.* [b] *Epist. in Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 3.* [c] *Id. ibid.*

Constantine are things of that nature, as the learned in the Church of *Rome* do now account suppositions; not to alledge many others, which deserve that the Council of *Francfort* should object, *That those Nicene Fathers not being able to prove their Decrees, either by the authority of the Scripture, or the testimonies and examples of the Saints, had recourse to fancies and Dreams.*

A Council which the Assembly at *Francfort*[a] of 300 Bishops, headed by *Charles* the Great, declared to be so annulled and abrogated, that it ought not to be put in the order of Councils, unless of such as *Ariminum*.

Lastly, a Council which the learned Defenders of Images were so loath to defend, that it had continued buried in a deep oblivion, had not the *Jesuit Maimbourg*[b] three years since raised it from its Grave, but alas! in what a manner!

First, he affected (and this is his confession and glory) to write in a Romantick stile upon one of the gravest Controversies in Religion; as if matters of

[a] *Act. Concil. Franc. t. 3. p. 26.* [b] *Ibid. ti. 1. p. 29.*
[c] *Histoire des Iconoclastes.*

Divi-

Divinity, and the Oracles of the living God, were of the same metal, as those abominable Books.

Secondly, in writing against *Iconoclasts* he never directed his arrows against them, but designed to fix them in the hearts of the *Jansenists*. Preposterous and irrational fancy! being put to it how to recover the lost honor of his Society so trampled on in the sight of all Christendom, he resolved to attack once more his Conquerors, not out of any hopes of Victory, but out of impatience the natural product of Pride.

He durst not therefore come into the open Field, and renew that Quarrel his Society had so shamefully begun, and so unhappily prosecuted; but betook himself to by waies, and thought it more secure and glorious to represent the *Jansenists* under the notion of *Iconoclasts*, and the imputed rebellion of the one against the Apostolical See, under the history of the other.

Thirdly, He so ill contrived his design, that he lost the Character of both, and only betrayed himself to be of a spirit bold and temerarious; who with

more then a Jesuitical impudence delivers lies as confidently as others do truth.

His History of the *Arians*, and this of the *Iconoclasts*, both daughters of the same brain, both written with the same design, had also the same fate. Neither was answered; those whom they were chiefly levelled against, being there so unskilfully delineated as not to know themselves: nor indeed would they ever have done so, had not that Author, doating upon his so well resembling Babe, and the *Jesuits* (who like the Spaniards, triumph as well when beaten as when Conquerors,) spread it through the World. But I have spent too many words upon so inconsiderable a Writer.

XXV.

To return then to our purpose: who of any sense or reason, hearing the Fathers of *Trent* say, that they permit the worship of Images, *juxta Catholicæ Ecclesiæ usum à primævis Christianis Re-*

1 *Sess.* 25.

ligionis

legitimè temporibus receptum, Sanctorumque Patrum consensionem, & Sacrorum Conciliorum Decreta; and then seeking all these great things, finds,

1. That for 800. years the Catholick and Apostolick Church has determined nothing of it.

2. That all the Fathers are contrary to it.

3. That those sacred Councils so magnificently alledged, are nothing but a miserable Conventicle at the end of the eighth Age.

4. That *England*, *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, part of *France* and *Poland*, declare against it.

What man of any sense, I say, considering all this will not conclude,

1. That we ought to distruft all the Decrees of *Trent*, and some being evidently false, give little credit to the most true.

2. That

2. That the Fathers of *Trent* had not the Charity of the Apostles, whose Successors they were, since they excluded from their Communion so many considerable Churches for a point, which themselves acknowledg not to be grounded on Scripture.

Not necessary to Salvation,

Not related to Faith, Manners, Sacraments and Discipline.

And Protestants not requiring Images to be pulled down, as did S. *Epiphanius*, and S. *Serenus*, but only their use to be ordered, as it was in S. *Austin* and S. *Gregory*'s time.

3. That the Church of *Rome* being immoveable upon the Controverted points, she must give us leave to address to her Council the same words the Fathers of [a] *Francfort* did to the *Nicene*. *Out of what fury or rather madness doth unius partis Ecclesia attempt to establish that which has never bin established by the Apostles or their immediate Successors, and oblige them either to undergo the Anathema so vainly pronounced against them,*

[a] *Act Conc. Franc. ibid. ibid.*

or

or disobey the Apostolical Constitutions?

Were they not promted by her, who is called in Scripture, *the ancient poison, the guide of Death, the root of all evil*, they would never strive to fix the name of *General Council* to their Assembly, had without the consent of many Catholick Churches. They would never take upon them to anathematize with such boldness so many and so considerable Churches, which are no less then they the Body of Christ.

REFLE-

REFLEXIONS
On the Council of *TRENT*.

Discourse III.

That the Council of Trent *was so far from reforming the disorders which had crept into the Church, that it really made the breaches in its discipline wider, and cut off all hopes of correcting the antient abuses.*

I.

WHatever Ecclesiastical disorders are recorded in the Writings of the Antients, they seem in no respect equal to those which infested the Church about the time of the Council of *Trent*. In the first Ages

indeed, the zeal and severity of Christians rendred every fault conspicuous; but in the last the most pious could hardly suffice to express her real and constant evils. This produc'd the desires of a general Reformation; especially that he who pretends to be upon Earth the supreme Judg of all men, would judg himself, take some pity of his own Soul; and since the distempers of the Church ow'd their original to the Apostolical See, begin at that part from whence the cure of all the rest was hoped for.

II.

Whereas then the Worlds recovery depended on that of the Popes, they ought willingly to have embraced the occasion of doing so great a good. Nor could less be hoped, then that considering the promotion of Piety as their proper Interest, they would sacrifice all others to it: and the Council of *Trent*, which lasted eighteen years, rais'd the expectations of all good Christians, that the tears of so many Nations would not be shed in vain. But by the dreadful judgment of God it miserably baffled the Churches cries, and instead of closing her wounds, opened and created new ones. For

For to evince the truth of which so great reproch, we need only consider two particulars,

1. The distempers of the Church.
2. The remedies applied to them.

And from the consideration of these, there will none, I hope, but confess, that the Fathers of this Council acted the part of an unfaithful Chirurgion, who to cure a less noble part, inflicts a deadly wound to the heart of his Patient.

III.

We intend not here to treat of any personal defects, which shew'd themselves in the Popes private life, but shall confine them only to those which were public, when they dealt as Popes, "as infallible, "as the Oracles of the Holy Ghost, as "masters both of Men and Angels, as "judges both of the quick and dead: in a word, "as men of whom, according to their own Books, 'tis not allow'd to en-"quire, *Domine cur ita facis?*

IV.

That Ambition and Covetousness have bin the two originary sins of the Popes;

[1] *Espenc. in cap. 1. ep. ad Titum.*

and that to these two Heads may be reduc'd all the rest, the very complaints of their own Historians, and most famous Authors do evince. By the first, they made a shift to raise themselves above Spiritual and Temporal Powers, to excommunicate and depose Kings, to invade the jurisdiction of other Bishops, to break thro all ancient and modern Canons; and instead of being rul'd by the General Councils of the Catholic Church, to exalt themselves above them. By the second they made use of all sacred and profane means to enrich themselves, reduc'd all Benefices into that state, as not to be attain'd but by [a] Simony, and sacrific'd all things to the raising of their Families. As for the honor of their Dignity, the glory of the Gospel, and the consideration of the scandal of the Church, these could never over-power in them the more strong impressions of Flesh and Blood. The invention of *Croisados* being worn out, they had recourse to that of Indulgences, set to sale the absolution of sins; and [b] whosoever fill'd the Apostolic Treasure, tho he were more profligate than the

[a] *Cardin.* of *Cambray, l. de reform. Eccl.* [b] *Centum gravam. grav.* 1. & 3.

bad

bad Thief, became more innocent then the good.

V.

Nor was it enough barely to fall into so many disorders, unless they undertook also to Canonize them, and thereby bring themselves under that dreadful Curse which God pronounces against those that call evil good. 'Twas for this purpose that *Rome* hath bred up such Doctors, as flatter the Popes even to Idolatry, stiling them Gods upon Earth. These gave birth to the monstrous Doctrine of Infallibility, never before heard of in the Church for 1400 years. These had the face to maintain, that if all the World should oppose their Sentiment, all the World must be slighted. And to sum up in a word, all that can be said on that matter, they have so far enslav'd themselves to their passion, as to decree in one of their Canons, that [a] *if the Pope should be neglectful of his Brethrens salvation, improfitable to the Church, dumb in what concerns her good, tho he should carry along with him to hell an innumerable number of souls, yet no man living can presume to correct him.*

[a] *Distinct.* 40. *Can. si Papa.*

These

VI.

These things are neither exaggerations nor slanders, but meer matters of Fact, which the best Authors of the *Roman* Church, as Monsieur *D'Espences*, *Gerson* the Chancellor of *Paris*, *Marsilius* of *Padua*, the Cardinal of *Cambray*, the Cardinal *Cusan*, *Æneas Sylvius* afterwards Pope, do equally complain of. And without ever mentioning the impertinencies of Canonists, [a] some of whom teach, *The Pope hath power to excommunicate Angels*; or the Impieties of some [b] Divines who maintain, *he can establish any thing against the Law of God and Nature both*; What can be more amazing, then to hear the Popes speak themselves?

Nicholas the First, in his Letter to *Michael*, [c] saies, *That the Pious Emperor* Constantine, *had call'd the Pope God, and that 'tis evident God can be judged by no man.* This piece of madness his successors lik'd so well, that they made an express [d] Canon of it.

Boniface the Eighth defines in a [e] Decretal of his, *That all humane Creatures*

[a] *August. de Ancona, de potest. Eccl. c.* 18. *art.* 1. [b] *Bald. Lult. de sent. nescinden.* [c] *In fine Tom.* 3. *Concil.* [d] *Canon satis evidenter.* [e] *In cap. unam Sanctam. excomm. de Maj. & obedient.*

are

are bound, necessitate salutis, *to submit to him as to the King of kings, and both Spiritual and Temporal Lord over all the World.*

His successor[a] pretends lawfully to dispense with that which was contrary to the Apostles commands, *Bene dispensat Dominus Papa contra Apostolum. Let all the World know*,[b] saies *Gregory* the Seventh, out of an excess of modesty and humility, *That we give and take away all Kingdoms, Empires, Principalities, and all Goods men are capable of possessing.*

VII.

Nor did these Servants of the Servants of God live any otherwise then they taught. There could no Crown in their times be assur'd upon the Head of any Prince, whatsoever Right, Birth, or Election had there established it. And indeed, we would scarce believe the precedents of *Philip*, *Frederic*, *Lewis*, &c. had we not beheld in our own daies what *Leo* the Tenth, *Julius* the Third, and *Sextus* the Fifth had done. The public Records of *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, are fill'd up with their bold enterprises, the raising Subjects in rebellion against their natural Princes,

[a] Decretum. cap. post transf. [b] Plat. in Greg. 7.

the

the absolving them from their Allegiance, the putting great Kingdoms into combustion, at once undermining them by civil Dissentions, and procuring them to be invaded by Foreign Enemies; the swearing Friendship with *Francis* the First, and at the same time helping *Charles* the Fifth to subvert him; and again, entertaining correspondence with *Charles* the Fifth, whilst he solicited *Francis* the First to war again, are part of the transactions of St. *Peters* Successors, the heads of the Church, and Vicars of Christ.

VIII.

But for their Covetousness, who is able to express it? Annats, expectative Graces, sacred Reservations, Preventions, Mandats; things abominable in all their parts, were call'd by them, *Pious artifices to maintain the Apostolic See.* That which in its own nature was properly a Crime, an Abomination, and a Simony, was turn'd into an holy action by a *Pasce oves meas.*

IX.

All Friers who grew weary of being govern'd by their Bishops, and kept in the hardships of Penance, sent mony to *Rome*, where

where there was not a door in the Conclave but was open to their Gold. Great sums to the Datary, prevail'd more then all their tears could have done. No Canons, no Councils, no Fathers, resisted their bribes. They purchas'd Priviledges, substracted themselves from the sacred Jurisdiction of their Bishops: and tho the very Injunction of their new gain'd liberty, was a real Simony, a disobedience, and an effect of the corruption of their hearts, yet the disturbers of it were threatned in their [a] Bulls with St. *Peter* and St. *Pauls* indignation.

X.

But that his Holiness, not satisfied with the oppression of the Clergy, should not spare the Lay-men neither, is above all imagination. The Records of the Parliament of *Paris*, speak every where of the Popes oppressions. Sir *Roger Twisden* hath writ an excellent account of the insupportable Taxes *England* groan'd under; the natural piety and generosity of the English inviting the Popes to abuse it into an occasion of leaving no limits to their Covetousness. For *Germany*, and o-

[a] *Bull. Pont. ubique.*

ther Provinces, who in the World is unacquainted with their grievances? And is there any Roman Catholic, who if he consider things impartially, confesses not that *Leo* the Tenth was the cause of greater evils to the Church then *Luther*?

XI.

The Pope himself verified that word of the Prophet, *The Priests shall eat the sins of the people.* There was no crime which had not an Asylum at the Penitentiaries. The obscene Books of the Jesuits *Sanchez* and *Hurtado*, are purity it self, compard with the Book of the Apostolical Tax. All the Casuists together never taught the World so many crimes as this one profligate Book. We suppress it, because we would not offend the modesty of our Reader. There are no tongues or words pregnant enough to express so great an infamy: but yet to give some hint of it, let us hear the Popes Secretary, *Our sins*, saies he, *are raisd to such an height, that we have scarce any hope of mercy left us. 'Twere a vain attemt to describe the greatness of the Priests covetousness, especially of them that govern. How unbounded is their ambition,*

[a] *Espenc. ibid.* [b] *Plat. in Marcel.*

obscenity,

obſcenity and luxury? How deep in their ignorance both of themſelves and Chriſts doctrine alſo? How full is the little Piety they had left, of hypocriſie and diſſimulation? and how inſtead of concealing the crimes they commit, do they affect rather to make them appear?

XII.

This then was the diſeaſe of the Roman Church: let us now examine whether the Council of *Trent* has truly reform'd ſo many abuſes; whether it hath preſerv'd the reſpect due to Princes, render'd the rights of Biſhops inviolable, taken away the Simonies and Extortions of the Court of *Rome*; and whether Mr. *d'Eſpences* complains wrongfully, *Quod tot annis & tot annorum centenariis nil in ea emendatur.*

XIII.

As for Princes, the injuries which the preceding Popes had done them, were ſo far from being repaired, that *Julius* the Third was ſo bold as to excommunicate the Queen of *Navar*, give her Kingdom over to depredation, and confiſcate her Goods.

XIV.

As for the Holy Father, they work out his reformation in a pleasant manner. It is consider'd as a Crime to speak of reforming him, of searching into his wounds, or taking any account of his excesses. And when the Cardinals, hurried on by the force of truth, and the cries of all men, are oblig'd out of meer shame to propose the mending any abuse, they always add, *Salva tamen Apostolicæ sedis autoritate*. So when plurality of Benefices is condemn'd, it is *Salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate*: when that intolerable abuse of Dispensations is cut off, 'tis *salva semper sedis Apostolicæ autoritate*: when any Penance is imposed upon non-resident Bishops, 'tis *salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate*: when Friars are put again under the jurisdiction of their Ordinaries, and obedience to their Canons, 'tis *salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate*: that is to say, The autority of that Apostolic See, which has patroniz'd their first violation of the discipline, shal be at liberty to do it a second time. They dare condemn no crimes, without impowring the Apostolic See to commit them over a-

gain.

gain. A Law, however just and necessary in it self, cannot be enacted without leaving to the Apostolical See the liberty of infringing it. And thus they make of the Apostolical See, a sanctuary and retreat for all disorders.

XV.

Nothing is better known at *Rome*, then the lives of a great many Cardinals. Heaven and Earth are offended at their Pride. Their plurality of Benefices, Bishoprics, and Abbies, is monstrous. No secular Princes are attended with greater magnificence. Never had the most luxurious Heathens either Palaces so gloriously adorn'd, or Tables so delicatly furnished: and whatever we read of the Gardens of *Lucullus*, or the pleasures of *Tempe*, is far short of the luxury of their Country Houses. Yet they are Clergy-men, that is, a sort of people who not only vowed in their Baptism to renounce the World, but declar'd it also in their Ordination, *That the Lord was the lot of their inheritance*, and his Gospel a commandment *to die and bury themselves with him.*

Notwithstanding, when their Reformation was spoken of in the Council, the Le-

Legats presently declar'd, that the Reformation ought not to extend unto their Eminencies; to which a Pious and Learned Bishop, more daring then the rest, moved to see Sacred Episcopacy so trampled upon by them, made answer, that *the most illustrious Cardinals, ought to have a most illustrious Reformation*, Illustrissimi Cardinales indigent illustrissima reformatione. But they are deaf to this voice of Heaven; and instead of sincerely advancing the Interest of the Gospel among themselves, to the end that the spring it self being purified, the stream might be so too, 200 Bishops and five Cardinals busie themselves in ordering the subsistence of Franciscans, and shaping the habit of Nuns.

XVI.

Nothing is so certain as the shameful traffic of the Datary and Chancery; none but the wilfully blind can deny it to be a gulph which swallows up the riches of many Kingdoms, and sucks the purest Blood of the people. But they must first have renounc'd the Gospel and their own reason, who confess not, that it is a continual commerce of abominable Simony,

[a] Life of *Dom. Bartholmy des Martyrs.*

a vio-

a violating of the most Holy Canons, and a pernicious attemt upon the autority of Princes and Bishops. What Council in former Ages, what custom of the Church, what legitimate Title impowers the Popes to give Benefices of other Kingdoms? What new Gospel teaches him to raise vast sums upon the account of Spiritual matters? What right hath he over those Churches he hath never ministred unto? Which of the Fathers, or what Authors can he allege to maintain such usurpations? Nay, who in the latter times did not rise against such an execrable abuse, and spoke not to him in the words of a famous Emperor, *Cesset altaribus immineere profanus ardor avaritiæ, & sacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium?*

Yea, the Council very well saw all this; twas in the Dioceſs of all these Bishops, that so intolerable disorders spread their branches. The Canons of the Sacred Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon* are set before their eies as so many eternal Witnesses of the Churches Spirit; but instead of following their rules, they wholly busie themselves in cutting off some small abuses, reforming of a Country Vicar; and for the rest, *Salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate.*

Of

XVII.

Of all the different kinds of Simony the Court of *Rome* is guilty of, none is so certain and aver'd, as the *Annats*. [a] *Boniface* the Eighth, and *John* the Twenty second, invented them; two Popes, *Baronius* stiles Monsters. The Council of *Basil* prohibited them under pain of Excommunication, and because the Fathers were inform'd that they came from no other source then the Pope, who by *Pasce oves meas*, Joh. 21. 16. makes all crimes lawful, they add those so remarkable words, *That if the Bishop of* Rome, *who more then any other, ought to observe and execute the Canons of the Councils, comes to scandalize the Church, attempting any thing against such a prohibition, let him be proceeded against by a General Council.* [b]

The most considerable Authors of the Church of *Rome*, both for Learning and Piety, complain most bitterly of this. The Faculty of *Sorbon* calls it, not only a Crime, but an Heresy. *Paul* the Third his Counsellors, who had bin first oblig'd under pain of Excommunication to declare the truth (that being necessary to

[a] *Plat. in Bonif.* [b] *Conc. Basil. Sess.* 21.

make

make truth reach the Pope) spake after the same rate.

Nevertheless, *The sacred, holy, and œcumenical Council met at* Trent, *in the name of the Holy Ghost, to be rul'd there by the word of God, the writings of the Fathers, and the Apostolical Tradition*, thinks not fit to take away the Annats. The Holy Ghost just goes so far as to correct small abuses, frivolous nothings, but reaches not to Heresies and Crimes; *Salva semper Apostolicæ sedis autoritate.* There is not in so vast a number of Bishops one single *Nathan*, or *Elijah*; or if it be too much to seek Prophets among them, there is not a single *Ambrose* or *Basil*; none of all these Vicars of Christ, who durst say with his Master, *Our friend sleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of sleep*, Joh. 11. 11.

XVIII.

And indeed it would have bin a kind of Murder to have cut off *Annats*. *Rome* would have bin no more a triumphant City, all its Palaces would have bin either pull'd down, or interrupted in the building, and especially that of *Pius* the Fourth, rais'd during the Council, of

which the Arch-Bishop of *Brague* told him, *That the stones would have serv'd better to build an Hospital.*

To banish Painters, Musicians, Poets from St. *Peters* See: to make a Pope in our daies live like S. *Leo* or S. *Gregory*: to rule a Cardinal-nephew according to the Council of *Carthage*, and the examples of S. *Charles*: to require the same severity of life from an *eminentissimo Cardinale*, as we saw in Cardinal *Baronius*, and some years ago in Cardinal *Bona*: Such demands, I say, would have brought a blemish upon the Council never to be obliterated; and instead of procuring its confirmation, fir'd upon them all the *Vatican* thunders. How could a Cardinal undergo the hardship of riding, without a retinue of 200 Coaches, and an infinite number of staffieries? In the Apostles time, the most common Motto was, *The world is crucified to me, and I to the world*, Gal. 6. 14. Priests then had no other liveries then the blood of Martyrs, no other retinue then a vast number of poor, no other Palaces then Prisons; but in our Age, you cannot walk in the streets of *Rome* without hearing People cry out, *The equipage of his Eminence,*

* Life of *Dom. Barth. des Martyrs.*

minence, the Mules of his Eminence, the Lotteries of his Eminence, the perfumes of his Eminence, the Music of his Eminence, the Abbies and Bishoprieks of his Eminence, &c. that is, of a Deacon in the Diocess of Rome, of a Parson in the City or Suburbs, of a man maintain'd by the alms of the Church, dead to the World and its vanities, perswaded that there is a life to come, and that the shortest way to enjoy its happiness, is to renounce all the pleasures and honors of the present.

XIX.

The Fathers therefore at *Trent* were not cruel to the Pope, nor *Pius* the Fourth ungrateful to them. He confess'd in a full Conclave, *They had us'd him more gently then he would have done himself*: and that Council, which otherwise had pass'd for a Conventicle, became so sacred, that this Pope never spake afterwards without an honorable mention of it in all his discourses. But this Popes own confession is too puissant a proof against him, 'tis the testimony of his own Conscience. Those Physitians flatter'd so much their Patient, that he was asham'd of it, and instead of applying powerful Remedies to

his inveterate Distempers, they took no notice of them. 'Tis wrongfully therefore they accuse the Popes self-love, or the blindness incident to those *who separate themselves from unity to constitute a particular order*, as speaks St. *Gregory* and St. *Austin*.

Pius the Fourth was convinc'd of the need he stood in of being reform'd, But the Fathers put a bar to his desires, *hactenus venies*; without them he would have gone further.

XX.

Nay, least the small Reformation they made of some few things, should last too long, they found out an expedient from which experience shew'd, the success of the whole was expected; and this was the liberty left to the Pope, of dispensing with all the Ordinances of the Council. That only favor deserv'd all Pope *Pius*'s acknowledgments: he and his successors made so good use of it, that it will not be amiss to give some examples thereof.

It had bin observ'd for many Ages, how much the exemtions of *Friars* were injurious to Episcopacy, and scandalous to the Church; wherefore the Council cuts them off,

off: but *Pius* the Fourth using his power of dispensing, re-establishes them with greater authority then before; so that there has bin scarce any Bishop since, zealous of his duty and the honor of his Divine Character, whom a pleiful Friar, whether more fraught with boldness or ignorance, I shall not determine, arm'd *cap a pied* with his privileges, durst not impudently oppose.

Some abuses concerning Dispensations, Expeditions for Benefices, and other pretended favors of the Apostolical See were remov'd; the Pope *uses his right of dispensation*, and scarce had the *Trent* Fathers got home from reforming them, before *Pius* the Fourth had again brought up all those Impieties.

XXI.

The Council had handled the matter of Indulgences with as great dexterity as moderation, and in its Decree not one of the following Propositions, which the Friars have since bandied about with so violent heat, is to be seen.

1. That Indulgences are authoriz'd by the Scripture.

Sess. 25.

2. That

2. That they are granted and receiv'd for the dead.

3. That they are a super-abundance of the merits of the Saints.

4. That they are any thing else but a relaxation of Canonical Penance, accorded only to those *who pray, who demand, who work*, petenti, operanti, roganti.

5. That the Pope has greater power to grant them, then any particular Bishop.

No man had reason to complain of so wise and moderate a Decree: but the Pope *uses his right of dispensing* too many People being interested in keeping Indulgencies. The *Vatican* magnificence, the softness of the Cardinals, and the Friars idleness, ow'd their maintenance to that solid and clear Revenue. You see therefore Bulls both for the living and the dead, dispers'd into all parts of the World; every Church hath its privileg'd Altars, and a thousand Books are made public, most of them dedicated to the Pope, and approv'd by the Inquisition, wherein they are call'd Heretics and Atheists, who oppose the Opinions

[1] *Cyprianus de lapsis.*

which

which the Council hath left undetermin'd.

The ſtile of theſe Bulls is as extraordinary as their matter; the Popes grant *two, four, ſix, or ſeven thouſand years of true pardon* (and indeed the word *true* looks very pleaſantly in that place;) he remits not only the pain due to ſin, but *the ſin alſo into the bargain*; ſomtimes to make the moſt on't he divides it, and pardons but a *third part*; ſomtimes *one half*; ſomtimes *all*, juſt as his Holineſs is in humor. And that we may not tire our ſelves with too much pains, in getting ſo precious and rare a favor as the pardon of our ſins, a man moſt deeply engag'd in the love of the World, moſt buried in all its pleaſures, the moſt taken with its glory, one that is a public ſinner, guilty of all the exceſſes which libertiniſm or atheiſm are able to inſpire, ſuch an one as this muſt be excuſ'd from too much troubling himſelf. The bearing of a Medal, bowing to a Saint, walking to ſuch a Church, or the like, will waſh him whiter then ſnow, and preſently render him as innocent in the eyes of God as the beſt of them, who think it worth their while to *work out their ſalvation with fear and trembling*,

bling, Phil. 2. 12. who are at the trouble of mortifying in themselves the body of sin by an incredible perseverance, by continual Fasting, Praiers, and Alms, that they may *present their bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God*, Rom. 10. 1.

XXII.

Thus the power of Dispensing opens the door to infinite scandals. But the Pope was impowr'd to do what he would, the Council granting him that which he could never hope for, *viz.* the assertion of his *infallibility, and pre-eminence above general Councils*: two Opinions that had never bin heard of for 14 Ages, and were scarce brought forth into the World, but all learned and pious Men opposed them, the 400 Bishops at *Basil*, and the famous *Sorbon*, stiling them *pernicious Heresies*; but the Fathers of *Trent*, being afraid to contradict openly so considerable an autority, and yet desirous to have their intent, dealt after a most pleasant manner, they take away the se two words, *Infallibility* and *Superiority*, but preserve carefully the thing.

* *Locus supra citus.*

1. The

1. The Council declares, the Church of *Rome* is Mother and Mistress of all Churches.

2. The Council affects to stick at many matters, and remits their decision to the Popes judgment.

Now what man of sense is there, who would not draw these two Consequences?

1. The Church of *Rome* being Mother of all Churches in the World, and a general Council being compos'd but of particular Churches; the Pope being Bishop of *Rome*, is therefore Father and Master of all Bishops & Councils.

2. There is Infallibility in the Church: this must either be in the Pope or in the Council; not in the last, since the Council cannot and dares not give their Opinion in many and weighty matters: therefore in the first, whose Church is Mistress and Mother of all Christian Churches in the World, and whose sentence an œcumenical Council submits unto, as to an Oracle, which must be its uttermost certainty.

But the sane man should, with their good leave, to these consequences add a third, which is

3. That the faculty of *Sorbon* is Heretical. The Learned *Gerson*, Chancellor of *Paris*, is an Heretic. The 400 Bishops at *Basil* are Heretics. Pope *Pius* the Second an Heretic. *Martin* the Fifth an Hetetic. And generally all the Learned Men of the Church for these 200 years are Heretics, for they all call that Doctrine of Infallibility and Superiority, a *pernicious Heresie*.

XXIII.

These two Points, Infallibility and Superiority, being once stated, what reformation could be expected in the Church. If the Pope be infallible, What an insolent boldness is it to subject him to other rules then his own? And if the Church of *Rome* be Mistress and Mother of all Churches, What right have these Churches to give Laws instead of receiving them from her? And therefore I cannot sufficiently admire how the author of the Considerations upon the Council of *Trent*, durst assert, *That the Pope had but ill us'd at* Trent, and nothing was said of his Supremacy. We leave it to all persons to judg of the truth of this Assertion,

we can only say, That the Authors who had written till then with the greateſt ardor to promote the Apoſtolical Grandeur, had never given her the ambitious qualifications of *Mother and Miſtreſs*; nay, they were ſo far from raiſing the Pope above Councils, that they call ſuch a Doctrine a *Schiſm and an Hereſie*.

XXIV.

But as if Infallibility and Superiority were not enough, the Council adds a third, a Vow of *true obedience*. The word *true obedience*, is no leſs pleaſant then the *true pardon of ſins*. The Court of *Rome* is ſo uſ'd to equivocations and ambiguities, that her fears appear in her own Decrees.

All Chriſtians therefore, whether Clergy or Laity, are tied up, or rather ſacrificed to the Pope by a ſolemn Oath; ſo as let him be as much *Arian* as *Liberius*, as much a *Monothelite* as *Honorius*, as unlearned as *Celeſtine* the Fourth, as Simoniacal as *John* the Twenty ſecond, as unclean as *Alexander* the Sixth; let him be as inſolent towards Kings, as *Hildebrand* to *Frederic*, *Boniface* to *Philip Auguſt*, *Innocent* to *John* King of *England*, *Leo* the Tenth to *Henry* the Eighth, *Julius* the

Third to the Queen of *Navar*, yet he cannot be resisted; 'tis not lawful to disobey *the Father and Master of all Churches*, to believe him in the wrong, whose judgment is above all Councils, and to oppose him to whom you are sworn upon the four Gospels.

XXV.

These reasons occasion'd the doleful complaint of Monsieur [a] *d'Espences*, then present at the Council, who saies openly, *That the Church is in a more desperate condition then before, and that by reason of the Italian Bishops*, whom he calls the *Helena* which triumph'd at *Trent*, *there is no hope to cure her wounds.*

Gentianus Hervæus, Doctor in [b] *Sorbon* also, and present at the Council, speaks after the same rate, and differs only from the others, in that he ascribes all the miscarriages of the Council to *Lainez* and *Salmero*, both Jesuits.

[c] *Julius Sanelius* being return'd from *Trent*, whether he had bin brought by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, gave an account

[a] *Espenc. loc. cit.* [b] A Letter of his was translated into French, in the contestation between the Jesuits and the Disciples of St. *Austin*, Printed at *Paris*, 1665.
[c] *Thuani Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 418.*

of

of that Assembly in these terms, *That in the Council of the Apostles it had bin said,* Visum est spiritui sancto & nobis, *it seem'd good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*: but in that of *Trent*, Plus nobis quam Spiritui Sancto, *more to us then to the Holy Ghost.*

It appears therefore, that the pretended Reformation of the Pope and Court of *Rome* is a meer Chimera; nor is it an harder matter to evidence, that the Reformation of the Church is a meer disorder. It may be said, and very truly, that the sins which Lay-men lie under, have no other source then the bad examples of the Clergy; and we may learn both from profane Writings and Divine, from Historians as well as Prophets, that the good or bad life of Priests hath ever had an unspeakable influence on mankind. But 'tis another truth no less certain, that if the sins of the people come from the Priests, those of the Priests spring from the Bishops: this being a daily experiment, that as the Clergy is holy when it is govern'd by Saints, so it becomes abominable to God, when the life of its head does not answer the duties and excellency of his dignity. The shortest way therefore to reform the Church, was seriously

riously to reform the Bishops.

But instead of reforming the Episcopal Order, the Fathers of *Trent* gave it two mortal wounds.

1. To declare Bishops in many cases the Popes Delegates.
2. To leave the question of their residence and jurisdiction undecided.

1. The first of these two things brings Episcopacy unto a strange abatement, renders the Pope master of all Bishops Jurisdictions, breaks all ancient Canons, runs down the interests of all Princes, encroaches upon the Rights and Liberties of Churches, gives the Bishops a quality unworthy the successors of the Apostles, and forces them to receive that as a borrowed and begg'd privilege which belongs naturally to them.

The second, causes Episcopacy to be look'd upon as a meer humane emploiment, or Civil Magistracy. Such a Bishop could never have the confidence to say with the Apostle, *2 Cor. 13. 3. Do you seek a proof of Christs speaking in me?* Nay, he would no more value his sacred character, then one of the Kings officers do his, and regard the duties of his Divine calling, rather as rules instituted for decency

cency, then as unchangeable obligations, so strictly requir'd from him, that without them he has no hope of salvation.

XXVI.

Jurisdiction is no less essential to Episcopacy, then the power of ordaining Ministers; a proposition we could easily demonstrate to be unanswerable, would it not render this Discourse too big; and had it not bin already done by a learned hand, against the infamous Doctrine of both English and French Jesuits. (*For Jesuits are every where the same.*) Ordination and Jurisdiction are so twisted together, that they cannot be divided without their mutual destruction. Bishops receive both from the same hand, and are no less instituted by Christ in the Church to govern it, then to continue the succession of the Governors.

XXVII.

Nay, may it not be affirm'd, that Jurisdiction is both as essential to Episcopacy, & as necessary to the Church as Ordination. For the Church being, as St. *Paul* saies, *a body*, i. e. a society consisting of Rulers,

* *Petrus Aurelius.*

and

and others subsubmitted to them, without Jurisdiction it can no more be such a society, then without Ordination those rulers can be continued. Therefore as no Bishop ordains in the Catholic Church, as the Popes, or any other Patriarchs delegate, but by the fulness of power he receives from Christ, so no Bishop exercises any act of Jurisdiction by any delegation, but by that power he is invested with as Bishop, successor of the Apostles, and Vicar of Christ.

A Bishop that acts or believes otherwise, betraies that dignity intrusted to him by Christ, which he ought to maintain to the last drop of his blood.

XXVIII.

Nor pretend we thereby to say that such a Jurisdiction may be exercis'd in every place, and over all persons, the partition of Dioceses shews the extraordinary wisdom of Councils and Princes. Nor may any one transgress the limits they have put among Bishops, without declaring himself an enemy to all discipline. Now all the following Propositions are certainly true, at least to all admirers of former times, whom I take to be in *England*

England in a greater number then elſewhere.

1. That no man, or no part of a Diocoſs, can be ſubſtracted from a Biſhops Juriſdiction, but by the autority of a Prince or Council.
2. That no man can be ſubſtracted from the Juriſdiction of his Biſhop, without being put at the ſame time under another.
3. That however a Biſhop deals with any man, either ſubſtracted from his Juriſdiction or added to it, 'tis alwaies of himſelf, and by the power he receiv'd from Chriſt.
4. That the exemtions of Friars and Monks, are a Schiſm rais'd by the Popes.
5. That the name of the Popes Delegates (in its moſt favorable ſenſe) given to the Biſhops in things which belong to them, is *plenojure*, and by all Laws a moſt ſhameful injury to the Epiſcopal order.
6. That *nemo eſt qui non perhorreſcat*, to uſe the words of a Learned[a] Doctor of *Sorbon*, at the ſpeech of the *Jeſuit Lainez* in the Council of

[a] *Gentian Hervæus, loc. citat.*

Trent, That all the power of Jurisdiction hath bin by Christ conferr'd on the Bishop of Rome, *so that the Jurisdiction of Bishops is not fundamental but deriv'd.*

XXIX.

Now concerning the divine right of Episcopacy, the Fathers of *Trent* committed two great faults: the one to bring it into question, and the other to leave it undecided. As for the first, it had bin receiv'd in the Church for fourteen ages taught by the Fathers, embraced by their Disciples, and only impugn'd by the Italian Canonists. For the second, such an indecision is a ground for any man in the Church of *Rome* to deny, doubt of, and contradict the institution of Bishops; these three things being the nature of all undecided points. So a man may maintain there is no government at all in the Church, and consequently no Church, since it does not appear that Christ hath instituted any other then Episcopacy: and certainly to find any other, the Scripture must be strain'd in many places, & the constant, universal, and never oppos'd practice of fourteen hundred years be impudently contradicted.

But

XXX.

But what is moſt pleaſant in this Indeciſion, is, that the Pope has verifi'd the word of the Prophet, *Pſal. 35. 8. Let the net that he hath hid catch himſelf*, for all theſe following conſequences flow from it.

1. That the Holy Father is no Pope by divine right, *Jure divino*, for the Popedom being nothing elſe but an extenſion of Epiſcopacy, he is no Pope but becauſe he is Biſhop. No Divine durſt yet advance any other opinion.

But the Epiſcopacy of the Holy Father is not different from that of other Biſhops, being in all reſpects of the ſame kind, *Epiſcopatus unus eſt*. And the Italians, who are ſo abundant in novelties, when they undertake to raiſe up the credit of their Maſter, have bin dumb in this matter.

Therefore if the Popes Epiſcopacy is not *Jure divino*, his Papacy is not ſo neither, ſince one is engrafted upon the other; and if the Holy Father is not Pope *Jure divino*, what ground can be laid for the ambition and uſurpation of

[1] *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl.*

the Apostolical See? What shall we do with the fine and rare Doctrine of Infallibility.

2. The Council has impos'd the belief of its new Decree upon all Christians, under pain of eternal damnation; but if they are only Ministers from the Church, and not from Christ, with what eies shall we consider so stupendious a boldness? Who hath impowr'd a company of men to make Decrees of divine Faith? And how, without being authoriz'd by God, did they exact an obedience only due to Ministers sent from Heaven?

3. 'Tis a crime in a Roman Catholic to believe the Council of *Trent* did not lawfully what it did, otherwise such a meeting is a dream and a chimera. But who is that Roman Catholic of any sense, who can be perswaded of it, seeing 'tis allow'd in the Church of *Rome* to deny any of those Bishops had the least autority from God to do what they did.

XXXI.

And indeed who will not wonder the Fathers of *Trent* so peremtorily give their verdict of things they confess not grounded upon Scripture, and which were controverted

vorted for many Ages, as *Images*, *Prayers to the Saints*, *Indulgencies*, &c. and leave undecided a point so evident in Scripture, and so constant in Tradition.

XXXII.

It highly therefore concerns the truth, to find out the mystery why they were so obstinate at *Rome* in an undecision so extremely pernicious to the whole Catholic Church, to that of *Rome* in particular, and to the Pope himself.

The truest cause is the pride of the *Eminentissimi Cardinali*. They were used long since to trample on the necks of Bishops, and to keep them in quality of their Secretaries, or Stewards. An enormity proceeding from the poverty, weakness, and sad condition of the Italian Prelates. A Bishop, to gain respect, needed to be privy to the pleasures or designs of the Cardinal. At Pope *Pius* the Fourths Counsel, Bishops stood bare-headed, whilst *gli Eminentissimi* sat, and were covered. And by a disorder no where to be found but at *Rome*, a gray hair'd Bishop, or Arch-bishop exhausted with austerities, and considerable for services done the Church, was seen at the feet of a young

a young, powdered, perfumed Cardinal puft up with pride, ſoftned by wantonneſs; and in a word, whoſe Eminency had uſually nothing more eminent then moſt eminent vices.

XXXIII.

'Twas then impoſſible to ſpeak in the Council of the Biſhops Inſtitution, without putting Cardinals in mind of theirs: one is ſo ancient and divine, the other ſo new and humane, that the very thoughts of them could not chuſe but make Cardinals aſham'd.

For if they conſider their dignity as Spiritual, they are only Prieſts or Deacons, ſubmitted for that very reaſon to their Biſhops, and without power of voting in Councils.

Or if they conſider it as a temporal honor, they have nothing to do with the affairs of the Church. They are in the order of the ſheep, not of the Shepherd, and inſtead of being ſo proud as to ambition ſpeaking and ruling in Councils, muſt beg with a profound humility to hear and be ruled.

Or at laſt, if they are in a middle ſtate, as a Jeſuit (a man of a middle ſtate alſo, as

as fit as the rest of his company to unite great extremes) describes them, they ought to fear the condemnation Christ has interminated to those *who serve two masters.*

And thus it was of a very high concernment for Cardinals to leave a question undecided, which would have restored them to their ancient condition, and done justice to the sacred character of Bishops. How dangerous soever seemed the consequences of such undecision, they followed the Italian maxim, *To keep the present usurpations at the price of the most equitable Laws.*

XXXIV.

Nor were they less interess'd at the question of Residency. For if the decision of the divine institution of Bishops destroied their honors, that of residency finished their pleasures, sent them to their Dioceses, and cut off the sweet and luxurious life of *Rome.*

Nevertheless, it was required by the Spanish and French Bishops, that Residency should be declared *Jure divino.* Of all Christian Truths, none is so powerfully expressed in the Scripture, so conformable

able to good sense, so inculcated to us by the Writings and Examples of the Fathers.

Nay, without gathering a thousand testimonies from all parts of the Scripture, let us only say to the Bishops what Saint *Jerome* saies to *Nepotian*, *Interrogent nomen suum*, and no doubt 'tis enough to perswade them.

There is none of these Bishops absent from their Dioceses, who dares read without fear that parable of the Gospel, wherein Christ calls himself the *good Shepherd*, expresses in a stile full of love, that he takes all imaginable care for hindering them from *going astray*; that he has a voice whereby his sheep *know him*, and discern him from *foreigners*, or *mercenaries*; and, what is more, that he has a life to spend for saving them from death.

XXXV.

Now Bishops are in the Church to represent Christ to the life, either because he has committed to their care the government of his people, or because they succeed the Apostles who are his witnesses. A Bishop that wants a watchful care to look after his sheep, a voice to call them;

them, and above all, a life to loſe for their ſakes, *is a thief, that comes not but to ſteal, to kill, and to deſtroy.*

This great duty gave occaſion to the Fathers to call Biſhops, *Sponſos Eccleſiarum ſuarum*, the Bride-grooms of their Churches. Thence they drew theſe important concluſions.

1. That the polygamy of Dioceſes is no more lawful to a Biſhop, then polygamy of Wives to a Chriſtian.

2. That as in a Chriſtian Marriage, a husband muſt be entirely to his wife, concenter in her all his deſires, and love her after God above all the world; ſo a Biſhop that is tyed to the Church, muſt baniſh all other thoughts, then to live and die in her boſom.

3. That as we learn from the ſublime Divinity of the Apoſtle, that Chriſt loved entirely his Church, never abandoned her, died for her, and remains with her till the end of the world; ſo a Biſhop muſt be jealous of the Church Chriſt has entruſted him with, watch continually for her, and becauſe ſhe lies in the midſt of a thouſand enemies, perſevere in her defence till his laſt breath.

XXXVI.

We need but read St. *Paul*'s Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to see the Disciple Preaching as he had bin taught by his Master. All those great qualities he requires in a Bishop, that *irreprehensible life*, that *exact watchfulness*, that *sound doctrine*, that *incredible patience in exhorting*, that *prudent behavior* amongst so many different sorts of people, old men, youths, widows and virgins, have no other foundation but residency.

And the Fathers were so throughly convinc'd of this duty, that when they speak of Episcopacy, they stile it *a burden dreadful to the shoulders of angels themselves, a long and tedious death, a source of infinite cares and solicitudes*: all which expressions are meer mockeries, if they did not suppose residency *Jure divino*.

Their examples are more pressing then their precepts. And St. *Athanasius*, St. *Austin*, and Pope St. *Gregory*, did actions answering to, and surpassing their words.

Nay, God has not permitted the Church of *Rome* it self, in the darkness of its incredulity, to be destituted of such precedents. St. *Charles*, nephew to Pope

Pius

pius the Fourth, retir'd to his See, maugre all the intreaties of his uncle. Cardinal *Bellarmin*, the Popes great adorer, would never accept of a dispensation proffer'd to him for *non residing*; and he has left us an excellent Letter to a nephew of his, wherein we may see that tho Jesuit and Cardinal, he could never be induced by the Pope himself to betray his conscience.

XXXVII.

But the Cardinals presiding at *Trent*, and the *Italian* Bishops did not care very much to shake the very principles of Religion, and so recur to the softest interpretations of Casuists. The first foresaw, that if residency be declared of Divine Right, there would be no pretence or excuse at all to live at *Rome*. The loss of *Rome* for a Cardinal is no small sacrifice; and there is a great difference between these two, to be conceal'd in his Diocels, and to shine in a Court known to be the most proud, rich, and voluptuous in the World.

The second should have hazarded too much in striving against the Cardinals. They lived in their families, *eat the crumbs*

which fall from their tables, and made a part of their retinue. Those of them who were less despis'd, had also more ambition: they aim'd at Cardinalship; and Residency was the nearest way to be depriv'd of it. They forgat therefore that they were Bishops, and chose rather to betray their character, then leave their pretences and pleasures.

XXXVII.

What then has the Council done in its so much boasted of Reformation? Great things indeed.

Those *two hundred Bishops that had bin five and twenty years before they could meet, and eighteen after they had met*, answer'd perfectly the expectation of all Christendom.

1. They have forbidden Praiers in a known Tongue.

2. Ruled the Church-wardens.

3. Ordained, that Friars could not vow but being sixteen years old.

4. Approv'd the Jesuits's order, that is, strengthn'd the enemies of Christ.

5. Shaped an Index expurgatory, as barbarous in its form as in its name.

6. Establish'd Inquisition, a new tribunal

bunal which may be properly call'd, the eleventh perſecution of the Church.

XXXIX.

But to ſpeak ſeriouſly, we muſt ſay with Mr. *D'Eſpences*, and the moſt conſiderable men of the Roman Communion,

1. They have encroached upon the liberties of all Churches.

2. Rais'd the Popes power, and brought Epiſcopacy to nothing.

3. Cut off all hopes of Reformation, and canoniz'd all the vices of *Rome*.

4. Made breaches in the Diſcipline which ſhall never be made up; and induc'd thoſe who have ſome knowledge of the ancient Canons, to ask them in Saint *Auſtin's* words, *Curare eſt hoc, an occidere? Levare de terra, an præcipitare de cælo?*

A Con-

A CONCLUSION

Of the foregoing Discourses,

Concerning the State of the Church of England, *and how she hath bin more successful in the reformation of her Faith and manners, then the Church of* Rome.

I.

THE *Anglican* Church is not any private Society, but a part of that body which, as the Scriptures tell us, is spread over the face of the whole Earth. Her intent is only to be a member of the Catholic Church, from whose Spirit she receives life, and governs her self by her laws. She do's no less abhor Heresie and Schism, then the Roman seems to do; only she do's not attribute that name to all persons and things, but knowing truth and charity

rity to be the most precious gifts, the holy Jesus purchas'd by his death, she is the less easily mov'd to accuse any of forsaking them.

II.

Her extent, greatness and prudence, with the moderation of her conduct, hath alwaies made her seem the main and most considerable body of the Protestants, and hence arises that ardent zeal of the See of *Rome*, either to recover or to destroy her: hence proceed so many artifices to tempt and draw away the Children of this holy mother, that for these hundred years its emissaries have labour'd to raise new Churches within her. But he who commands the winds, and imposes silence to the Seas, will suffer no tempest to arise within her breast, unless it be to render her the more glorious. She hath alwaies liv'd in unity, catholicism, and which is the spring of them both in that holiness which God requires.

III.

Neither *Calvin* nor *Luther* were the authors, or reformers of her Faith, nor do's she look upon them any otherwise then

then the Church of *Rome* do's upon *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*. She indeed considers them as great writers; but yet as men on whose words she founds no part of her Creed. The [a] word of the Prophets, the Gospel, and writings of the Apostles are her laws. God having spoken so clearly and plainly, she looks for no other instructions then his word; and according to that she being a national and independent Church, and consequently having just authority, did reform her self.

IV.

The reverence she hath for the Scriptures carries her neither to Enthusiasm, nor a private Spirit. She [b] explains not the word of God by any humane exposition. *She knows there is not hing so difficult in one part of the Scripture which is not plainly illustrated by another more easy.* [c] She therefore compares the one with the other; as did the Fathers in former Ages. She seeks the will of God; by the light God himself hath given; and knowing that he cannot and will not deceive her, she relies upon and wholly delivers her self up to his care and conduct.

[a] *Art.* 6. [b] *Art.* 20. [c] *St. August.*

She acknowledgeth no other Infallibility then his. She knows all men are subject to error and falshood, and the greatest Saints themselves may truly say, *If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.*

V.

The Church of *Rome* flatters her self with an Infallibility which she can reduce to no certain principal. The Pope assumes it to himself, as if he were the only source of it, and the *Italians* call all other opinions Heresie. The rest of her communion attribute it to a General Counsil, and anathematize all those who think the contrary. So that this Infallibility is reduc'd to that, as to prove either the Pope or Counsil to be in Heresy. The Church of *England* cuts off such an abominable division. She acknowledgeth the power of God and the infirmity of man, the eternal and essential truth of the one, and the falshood the other is subject to. She hears with trembling the word of the Apostle, *Let him that glories, glory in the Lord*: she therefore gives the glory to God, and in this life she looks upon Gods

[a] 1 *John* 1. 8.

word

word as the pillar of Fire, which led the Children of Israel thro the desert, and never forsaken them in so many intricate marches.

VI.

If the Catholic Church hath not err'd, at least in fundamentals, tis not by reason of any promise of Infallibility which God hath accorded to men; but because that he being a God of mercy, has had in all times some faithful servants, whom he made acquainted with his ways, and who have walked according to his word. The gates of Hell have not prevail'd against them, because they were fill'd with that charity, which triumphs over both visible and invisible Enemies.

And God having resolved in the decrees of[a] charity (which the Scripture teacheth us he hath lov'd the Church by) to be served *in spirit and truth* to the end of the World, he hath not permitted his word to be taken away from her, how bloody soever the persecution of Martyrs has bin; how blind soever the ignorance was, in which many ages had bin involved; how terrible soever the corruption

[a] *Jer.* 31. 3.

appear'd, in which we see the World ev'ry day plunge it self.

VII.

The holy Church of *England* stops not that Fountain, out of which [a] waters flow to life Eternal. The Word of God being the foundation of our happiness, and the key of the World to come, she permits all People, perswades, exhorts, and commands all ages, all conditions and qualities to perule it.

St. *Chrysostome* was of opinion, that all Merchants and men of affairs, who had not zeal enough to read the Old Testament, should at least read the new. St. *Jerome* prescrib'd to many Ladies of quality, the manner of teaching it their Daughters. St. *Austine* in his Sermons declares to his People, that the multitude of their sins proceeded from their neglect of the Scriptures.

God having resolv'd in process of time to accomplish the great work of Predestination in his Elect by his word; to neglect the reading of it, would be to reckon himself excluded of that blessed tribe. The Church of *England* follows

[a] *John* 3.

that

that opinion. Her Bishops are not contented with instituting it in their Synods, and the Preists preaching it in their Churches, but the Holy Ghost being of all Nations, and languages, it has bin their business so justly to translate it, as the most ignorant can make use of it: and so all the World may equally have this great treasure; for it is folly for any one to perswade themselves, that it is only open to the learned. There needs no science, but much humility and Faith towards God, for the knowing this truth of Salvation. Let a Man have learning without humility, the most ignorant person understands better then he do's. Men teach the mind and corrupt it, but God instructs the heart and it is converted.

VIII.

But because it is easy for our reason to be seduc'd, and nothing is worse for any Man, then to abandon himself to his own sense; the Bishops order their Curats, to look back on the former ages, to get the explication of the Scriptures from the holy Fathers, to hearken to the Church in her Councils, and never to fall from

[a] *Can. de Concio. § Concionat. An.* 1571.

her

her interpretations and ordinances.

The Church of *Rome* runs into one extremity, and some authors to another; the former so look on the Fathers as to equal their authority with that of God; the others under pretence of hearing God, hear no body, and treat those holy Saints and *August* Councils with such contempt, as merits a thousand Hells.

The holy Church of *England* keeps her self in an exact mean. She rejects, condemns, and trembles at the folly, pride and ignorance of those unhappy wretches, before whose eies the Devil has cast so great a mist, and who think it better blindly to cry Scripture, then to hear those who are the most faithful interpreters of it.

She with great respect and reverence, looks upon those former ages, where truth was not disguis'd, nor charity cool'd; but she rises not to such an excess, as the Church of *Rome* and whatsoever grace God has given to his servants, she alwaies acknowledges, that they are but rivulets, which can never be equall'd with the Ocean from whence they proceed.

IX.

IX.

They therefore are mistaken, who confound this holy Church with such unreasonable persons, as refuse to be instructed by the examples and writings of so many holy servants of God. She receives not tradition in any other sense, then is according to Scripture. She will hold all that as holy, which can be alledged conformable to that excellent rule of St. *Vincent* of *Lerins*, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus servatur*. She will always receive with a profound reverence the unanimous consent of the Saints and never appeal from the decrees of the Church assembled in general & legitime Councils. For tho the Church has no power to ordain any new article of Faith, either to add or cast out any part of it; nevertheless she has sufficient Authority to declare her opinion in any point of Faith; and seeing that she do's it, all Christians are bound to submit themselves to her judgment, what seeming truth soever there appears on the contrary; and it is much more probable for one particular person to be deceiv'd, to whom God has promis'd no other assistance but

that

that which is common to all Christians; then the Catholic Church, to which Christ [a] *is present till the end of the World*, and has promis'd to send his Spirit, [b] there where they are gathered together in his name.

Christ in speaking to inferiours said not, *he who hears you hears me*; they therefore have no right to be heard, nor consequently to speak. He said to his Apostles, and Bishops, whom he has order'd to govern the Church in their places: 'tis therefore their business to speak, and right to be heard; and those who teach without or against their order, do break the ranks, in which God has placed them.

X.

But to attempt the reducing the Catholic Church to one part of *Europe*; and to force the name of Roman upon those, who ought not to receive it, and to exclude them from Salvation who are both Christians and Catholics without being Romans, is the greatest absurdity in the world.

But to confine that part of *Europe* to

[a] *Matth.* 28. 15. [b] *Mat.* 18. 20. [c] *Luc.* 10. 16.

the

the Pope; to make him the center of unity which belongs alone to Christ, is the greatest impiety and most insufferable extravagancy that can be imagin'd.

But that any man should call himself the High Priest, the Universal Bishop of the Church, that is, take those titles which his Predecessors look'd on as an execration, and which he hath not gotten but by an immensurable ambition, is beyond all imagination.

But that the same person, under pretence of a *Pasce oves meas*, which he hath expounded as he pleased, contrary to the opinion of the Fathers and Councils, should march in the head of all his Brethren, and raise Clergy men of the meanest order, such as are Cardinals, above the holy order of Bishops; should excommunicate Kings and depose them, give their Kingdoms to a depredation; dispence Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance which they have sworn to their Prince, and colour all these attemts as done by the autority which Christ hath given him, the Church of *England* will never admit of such Principles, as the

[a] *Can. null. dist. 99. Can. Eccl. dist. 22. Greg. l. 4. Epist. 32.*

most forlorn sinners cannot look upon without horror.

XI.

If the Pope would do all for the truth, and nothing contrary to it; if he would limit himself to the word of Christ, and the practice which the Church hath prescrib'd him, and go no further then St. *Leo* or St. *Gregory*, she will communicate with him. She will rob him neither of the dignity of Bishop nor Patriarch. Christ gave him the one, and the Church granted him the other. She acknowledges, that the ancient See of *Rome* is one of the most considerable in the world; that hath bin formerly ennobled with as many Martyrs as Bishops; that he hath bin mightily respected in Councils; and that the Emperors have dignified him with great privileges. But when he pretends to draw thence an occasion of exalting himself above others; and that according to the remark of a famous Emperor, at the Council of [a] *Florence*, *He looks on the praises which the Saints have given him in their Epistles, as titles and privileges from*

[a] Μήπως τις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν Πάπαν, ὡς ἐκλαβὴ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίων. *Conc. Florent. p.* 518 *tom.* 32.

Christ;

Christ; the Church of *England* oppoſes it with as much conſtancy as juſtice, and not being able to cure the wounds of that Biſhop, ſhe leaves him to the judgment of our great God.

XII.

The pride of the Pope has cauſ'd the ſeparation of the Greek Church, and made a breach between Eaſt and Weſt, which will never be made up. It has alſo bin the occaſion of the one part of the Weſt being divided from the other. And it is not ten years ſince, in the affair of the four French Biſhops, it had like to raiſe a Schiſm and a diviſion in the reſt.

XIII.

But ſuppoſing the ſubmiſſion of all the reſt to *Rome* ſhould be lawful, yet that is nothing to the Church of *England*, which was never any part of it. It plainly appears, ſhe receiv'd the Faith almoſt as ſoon as Chriſt brought it to the world: but altho the time be uncertain, yet none can think, that ſhe was ever inſtructed by the Church of *Rome*. [a] Her manner of obſerving Eaſter, as in the Eaſt, and her

[a] *Vener. Bede. l. 2. c. 2.*

Ceremonies (very different from those used in the Church of *Rome*) shew that she receiv'd the Gospel from thence. St. *Gregory* having sent hither *Austin* the Monk, and that Holy Saint requiring the Clergy to submit to the Popes autority, the Abbot of *Bangor*, in the name of all the rest, answer'd in such terms as shew'd the purity and simplicity of the former times, "*We submit our selves*, saies he, *to the Church of God, to the Pope of Rome, and to every good Christian; and love each of them with such a degree of charity as is due to them, to assist them both in our works and Councils; to become sons of God; we know no other respect due to him, whom you stile Father of Fathers.*

XIV.

It is therefore certain, for six hundred years at least, that the Church of *England* hath in no manner bin subject to that of *Rome*; her Councils and promotions of Bishops, and generally all that belongs to Religion, has bin transacted without the Church of *Rome* being at all concerned in them.

It

It would be much against the honor of the Pope, if those means should be made known, by which he hath endeavor'd to establish himself for the succeeding ages. The public Acts of this Kingdom, of a far greater autority then all their legends, are fully charg'd with his Oppressions. What pains did the Kings take to put a stop to them? with what constancy did the Clergy oppose it, till the time of *Henry* the Eighth? That history was writ with as much impartiality as truth, by the Learned Sir *Roger Twisden*. It appears by all publick Acts, that the Pope hath wonderfully endeavor'd to make use of all conjunctures of times, to get footing into this great Isle. He hath bin enrich'd by the liberality of her Kings, by Factions which he sow'd in the heart of the Kingdom, and by the Wars which he brought upon it from abroad.

XV.

Henry the Eighth, whom all the Popes have so cry'd out upon, went not further then his Predecessors, and the title of supreme Governor in these his Realms, well understood, is no less due to him then to any other Prince in the World. This

King

King, or any of his Successors, pretend to no more autority over the Church, then *Constantine*, *Justinian*, or *Charles* the Great. They have neither power to administer the Sacraments, nor to Preach the word of God.

They meddle not at all with any thing which belongs to faith or manners, and leave to their Bishops all the power in those matters, which Christ himself has given them.

They make no Canons, tho they add Sanctions to them; and declare, the knowledge of Spiritual affairs is not a right of their Crowns.

They only take care of the outward administration of the Church, to see Canons executed, and hinder foreign autority, under pretence of piety, from disturbing the quiet of their people. Upon this account, the Bull of no Pope is receiv'd in *France* without the Kings consent; all privileged men are daily restor'd to the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries, and when any thing does endanger the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, or the Laws of the Land, the *Pasce oves meas* is of no force, and the Kings autority stops the attemts of the Holy Father.

In

In *Spain* the King has the disposal of all things belonging to the outward Government of the Church. The Inquisitors condemn in the Kings name: and when the Council of *Trent* was there receiv'd, 'twas by the command he gave his Subjects to do it; nor do the Kings of *England* claim any more.

XVI.

'Twas not the title of *Supreme Governour* which did most of all distast the Pope. He could easily bear with that in all Kings, for it is but what naturally belongs to them; he knew that every King has such autority over the Church: but he fear'd the consequences of it, which indeed are very terrible to a Pope.

Henry the Eighth by that did suppress the Bulls which came from *Rome*, and retain'd in his own Realms those vast sums, which before were yearly carried out of them. This was transacted in the sight of two great Kingdoms, inclin'd enough to do the like. The Pope therefore thought, that in prudence he ought to cry out on that Prince; but because a man cries in vain, when things are represented in their true and lively colours, he gave his defenders

fenders liberty of forming Chimera's, to the end they might work upon the people such an effect in this point as he desired.

XVII.

The Church of *England* need not recur to an extraordinary mission, nor to those arguments so far distant from reason, to prove her self a Church. She hath not confounded the order of things, and assum'd a Government lately sprung up. Since she hath receiv'd the Faith which was according to [a] *Nicephorus* in the first age, and to [b] St. *Beda* some small time after, we see the succession of Bishops hath continu'd without the least interruption or change.

XVIII.

The Usurpations of Popes, the commerce of Italians, and most of all the ignorance wherewith God for some time permitted the West to be blinded, made them fall into the errors of *Rome*. But when God looked upon the Church in his mercy, and had opened her eies, she labored to reform her self, but not in a tumultuous manner, and spilling of blood.

[a] *Nicep. l. 2. c. 40.* [b] *Bar. to. 3. an. 35. n. 5.*

She

She was not left to the conduct of the blind People; which will suffer nothing but what pleaseth them best, and which is delighted only with extreams. The King calls a Council of the whole Kingdom, stored with wise and holy Bishops, as appears both in their lives and works. This Council form'd the articles of a reformation: which being seconded by the law of their Prince, according to the custome of all Monarchs, were by that great Kingdom receiv'd with a general respect.

XIX.

These holy Prelats in the Reformation had nothing carried on either by heat or violence: an extraordinary and unusual prudence appears in all their Canons: they busy not themselves in calling the Pope Antichrist and *Rome* Babylon, but render them the same respect they had ever done. They judg themselves without judging others, and are content to pray for other Societies, without pronouncing either their Salvation or condemnation.

XX.

As they do separate themselves only

from the errours of the Church of *Rome*, so they do pretiously preserve what doth not bear that name: otherwise 'twould not have bin the work of a pious zeal but of a wicked madness. None can deny that there are many great and holy rites in the Church of *Rome*. They therefore by a judicious distinction have thrown out those practises which were evil, and retain'd the good.

XXI.

Having therefore two businesses in hand, to wit, the reformation of Doctrine and ordering of manners, they have made use of the shortest and easiest means They compar'd all to the Scriptures and customes of the first Ages. There is no point of their Faith which may not be proved by Scripture: nothing in their Discipline which is not conformed to the ceremonies of the first 500 years.

XXII.

The Church of *England* therefore hath the comfort of having her Doctrine founded on the Scriptures, so believed by the holy Saints as she believ'd it: her Canons conformable to the antient Ca-

nons,

tions, her Liturgy like the first Liturgies.

When she goes about to interpret the Scriptures, she exacts not of her Children a blind obedience, as doth the Church of *Rome*. She thinks not to make any volume Canonical, which was never really so; but she follows the tracts of the Saints, and of the Councils: and hath learnt from the primitive Church, which books in the Holy Bible are the grounds of our Faith, and which only the object of our Piety.

XXIII.

We may say the same thing of all those points, which raise the difference betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*. The most considerable one is that of the Eucharist. She treats that incomprehensible mystery with the respect due to it. She neither presumes nor pretends to comprehend more of it then Christ hath bin pleased to reveal to them, and the antient Church understood.

It is manifest first, that Christ instituted the Sacrament of his body and blood.

Secondly, that he is really present in it. Thirdly, that he abundantly communicates

nicates his grace and his holy Spirit, to those who before they receive it seriously try themselves, as the Apostle speaks, and who not only forsake sin, but the very appetite of sinning, and labour to order their life by his example.

But the manner of his being present is uncertain. Christ saies nothing of it: it appears not that the primitive Church hath known how. That of *England* receives with thanksgiving what he hath bin pleased to reveal to her, and adores with a submissive silence what he hath not bin pleased to let her know.

We understand nothing of the Lord's Supper but by the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive times: and when we limit our selves to that, without going any further, the manner of expounding it is not difficult. The Infinite love of God towards us in that Sacrament destroies not the order which his wisdom hath put in things. We leave to Faith all the latitude of it, without contradicting the principles of reason. But when men pretend to make Evangelists speak as Scholastics, or Scholastics as Evangelists, and look for Transubstantiation, con-

concomitancy and existence of the accidents without their subject, &c. all seems obscurity and darkness. We sacrifice not our reason to faith, but we throw aside both of them in saying that God explains himself after a manner contrary to those principles which he hath established.

The Church of *England* is therefore in a right of supposing as receiv'd what she believes, and the Church of *Rome* is obliged to prove what she advances. The former supposes the miracle which Christ hath wrought, adding nothing new or unpossible; the other proposeth a thousand things to our beleif of which Christ hath said nothing; and which are in themselves greater miracles then that about which the two parties differ, besides that they draw idolatrous practices.

XXIV.

The Church of *Eng.* doth not only think her self bound to beleive what Christ saies of the sacrament, but she administers it, as he hath given it us. She orders the sacrament under both kinds, according to the command of Christ and to the practice of the Catholic Church: and the whole World know the unchristian grounds

grounds upon which an *Italian* Bishop in the Council of *Trent* thought it was not to be granted, for fear of making an argument against the pretended Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*.

XXV.

It is unreasonable that she do's not permit service to be read in the vulgar tongue, and the Bible to be translated. She knows nothing was ever grounded upon a less foundation then that; and without looking on the orders of St. *Paul*, which are so exact thereupon, is there any thing in the World so contrary to reason as to pray to God in an unknown Tongue, which expoſeth the Praiers to the scorn and irreverence of those that offer them?

The Eastern Church did alwaies pray in Greek, or in languages used by her divers Nations. Whilst the Latin was the language of the West, it was fitting that the service should be read in it: but by the distraction of the Empire, the incursions of Barbarians, and the various revolutions we find in history, that language having lost its life, and given place to the various Idiomes of all Nations, it was fit-

[1] 2 Cor. 14.

ting

ing men should pray in such languages as may be understood: but it being more for the interest of the Pope to keep people ignorant, he hath opposed so necessary a practice. St. *Jerome* translated the Bible into Dalmatian, the language of his own Country: there are also to be found manuscripts of the Bible in most languages of the World. The more universal and dangerous heresies were, the more the holy Saints exhorted the People to look in the Scriptures for those remedies which God hath granted against them.

XXVI.

The Church of *England* hath therefore turn'd the Liturgy into her Mother tongue. The Priests and the Congregation there present, send the same Praiers to Heaven: and to take away all marks of Enthusiasm or novelty, she hath composed the admirable Book of common Praier.

It is nothing but a collection of the most pathetical and instructive places of Scripture. That which she hath not from thence are the very words of the Fathers, or antient collects which by tradition were receiv'd from the primitive Church.

All

All is found, all is holy: *we address our service to God, in God's own language, and we speak to him, as he hath spoke to us.* 'Tis a happy obligation for a Christian to pray after such a manner wherein a vain imagination bears no part; his mind is enlivened; his heart softned: by that he can preach to himself, and understand the most important truths of Salvation.

This is not contrary to the exercise of the inward prayer, which St. [a] *Austin* calls *the voice of the heart*, by which we beg and are supplicants to God for his mercy: and the Church of *England* is so far from forbidding Christians to prepare themselves for the life to come, by a serious consideration of the miseries and inconstancy of the present, and to learn how to love Christ, that by her they are commanded to do all this: and the Bishops say to each of them in giving them the Gospel as the Angel did to the [b] Prophet, *comede volumen istud*, Eat this Book and convert it into your own substance.

XXVII.

This makes it appear with how much less sincerity our adversaries, who have

[a] *Aug. Ep.* 191. [b] *Ezek.* 3. 1.

but

but a blind zeal, think to offer a great sacrifice to God in calumniating their Brethren, and accusing all the Protestants of renouncing all the exercises of Christian Piety, and of retaining nothing but a meer morality, which is to be met with in any honest Heathen.

And indeed, if going in Procession, carrying Images about one, counting Beads, and a hundred such like nothings are counted Piety, she acknowledges none of them. But if the renouncing of our selves, the mortifying our senses, the humility of our hearts, the love of our neighbor, forgiving our enemies, the meditation of the Gospel, be stiled holiness, she teacheth and practiseth them faithfully.

XXVIII.

The holy Church of *England* proceeds farther; and the Church of *Rome* hath no really holy practices which she doth not follow. Confession so ancient in the Church, is in use here also; but the liberty thereof is left to movements, which God himself inspires into the hearts of sinners. The Church had so done for twelve Ages, and until the pre-

tended general *Lateran* Council, there was no Statute made about it. She desires it should be wrought by the Holy Ghost, that the Spirit of God should throw a sinner at the feet of the Priest, and not the fear of Excommunication.

XXIX.

She doth, as they, believe the usefulness and necessity of fasting. All Scriptures and Traditions are full of the praises which God and his holy Saints have attributed to it. *Lent*, and the abstaining from certain meats on certain daies, are practices so ancient in the Church, that none can blame them without an insupportable ignorance and temerity.

She observes all these things with a great deal of edification. Her Bishops, and many of her Clergy-men, fast after the manner of the Primitive Christians, that is, eat but once, and that at night. Abstinence from flesh is alwaies injoined with their Fasts. They abhor the shameful subtilties of the Casuists of the Church of *Rome*, who retain nothing of it save the name, but in effect destroy it. Their fasting and abstinence have nothing superstitious. He that eateth not, is not scan-

candaliz'd by him that eateth, *Rom.* 14. 1. The ſtrong do patiently bear with the weak, and pray God that he ſtrengthen them.

XXX.

Nor doth the Church of *England* condemn Monaſtical life. She praiſeth them that retire into ſolitude, therein to bewail their crimes, who forſake all to find all in Jeſus Chriſt. It cannot be denied, but whatever irregularities the greater part of the Church of *Rome* be in, there are amongſt them a very great number of good people, whom God will recompence rather according to their heart then actions. Had they, when *Henry* the Eighth ſuppreſſed them in *England*, walked in the duties of their Calling, they had bin ſtill in being.

The Popes anger was not becauſe they had bin ſuppreſs'd, for Popes themſelves ſhew by their examples, that theſe ſort of ſuppreſſions are ſomtimes neceſſary: but 'twas becauſe it was done without his autority, which then becomes a nice point in Law, pernicious to all ſtates, and contrary to the reſpect due to Kings. This Prince found them in ignorance and cor-

ruption. They were a burden to the State, a scandal to the Church, a subject of grief to all good people. Their zeal for asserting the temporal autority of the Pope was inconceivable, and they treated their Bishops with extreme scorn. When so many evils gathered together are incurable, who doubts but that the root thereof should be pull'd up, and the hazard be run of losing a blessing, which cannot be preserved but by greater evils?

XXXI.

Good Monks are certainly of great example. The conferences of the Priest of *Marseilles*, shew that the East was filled with the fame of their virtue. In the West, the Order of St. *Benet* had, during many ages, furnish'd all the Sees in the Church, and bred up more Saints and Bishops then all the other Orders together had of Religious persons. But those were neither insolent Monks, who [a] *from the bottom of their Cells would condemn all the World besides*; nor vagabonds, who made a trade of their poverty; nor people who having renounced the World, had yet more intrigues and restless desires

[a] *Hieron.*

then

then thoſe who had not. They that got their livelihood by the ſweat of their brows, were no leſs ſeparated from Eccleſiaſtical employments then ſecular, and lived in a continual humility and penance.

XXXII.

The Orders in the Church of *Rome*, which continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate, are worthy of Veneration. It is a moſt falſe argument for looking upon them as people of no uſe to the Church. They ſerve her in their way: and truly it is a very great ſervice they do her of praying and groaning continually for her.

We muſt not judg the uſefulneſs of men by their actions, but by the ſtation God hath placed them in. A perſon that does but little in his calling, is often more uſeful to the Church then another that does much out of his calling; the will of God, and not that which appears to men, being the rule of the utility or inutility of thoſe that ſerve him.

XXXIII.

It is clear, following this principle, that though there are yet many good men in the

the present corruption of Friers Orders, nevertheless the Church of *England* hath done well in not suffering any.

She rejects them not, because they are Friers or Monks, but because the greater part of them is not in that condition they ought to be in. It is good to shew clearly, and to make the devout of the Church of *Rome* see that they are injurious in reproching that of *England*, for having banished Friers.

XXXIV.

Is there in the World any more effeminate and idle life, then that of the *Clervaux* and the *Cisterciens*? Is not the ignorance, idleness, and sloth of these Friers, beyond all imagination? Does there appear the least trace of that laborious and penitent life of their holy Founder? Will not a man that hath read St. *Bernard*'s Epistles or Sermons, when he sees these Monasteries, think himself in another World, finding people that call themselves his sons, who have nothing either of his spirit or manners?

For the Mendicants, we need but hear the Bishops to be acquainted with their

* *clarevallis.*

nature.

nature. They are as great a charge to the Church as to the State. The Country is ſcarce large enough for their ramblings, and the City for their viſits. The *factum* of my Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Sens*, one of the greateſt Prelates of the Church of *Rome*, is a proof of what they can do. We ſpare the Reader the recital of their ſcandalous manners. But if theſe Monks have ſo little care of their reputation, as to ſay, that this is the practice but of one particular Houſe, we can prove to them by a thouſand like examples free from all exception, that it is not in the City of *Provins* only, but in all other they live accordingly.

It remains, that we ſpeak of the Jeſuits whom all have ſpoken againſt, ever ſince the World knew them. If the acts of the Clergy of *France*, the Writings of *Sorbon*, the Decrees of the Parliament of *Paris* may be credited, Chriſtianity hath never had greater enemies. Never did people that profeſs poverty and obedience, ſo earneſtly affect glory and riches. The better ſort of the Roman Communion in *England* it ſelf, cannot endure them. And all the World knows a perſon of eminent Quality, moſt zealous

for

for the Church of *Rome*, who ardently desires its re-establishment, but on condition that the Jesuits be for ever excluded the Kingdom.

XXXV.

Whence therefore comes it that the Church of *Rome*, which cannot be ignorant of so palpable disorders, preserves the Friers with so much care? 'Tis a mistery which must be laid open.

There are two sorts of persons interess'd in their conservation; the Pope, and men that are worldly given. The latter, who would be Christians without submitting to the duties of the Gospel, are very glad to find so easie and indulgent guides, who give them *pillows to lean on*, Ezech. 13. 18. as speaks the Prophet, that is, to sin with less disturbance. Now to glory in a great number of followers, 'tis enough to entice and allure those, whom a half piety and shadow'd devotion keeps still in their sins. The Pope on the other side supports them, not only by acknowledgment, as people to whom he ows a great part of his grandeur, but with design of making use himself of them upon occasion.

Before

Before the Court of *Rome* had invented Privileges and Exemtions, the Monks that lived in ſubmiſſion to their Biſhops, and in an happy ignorance of the diſputes of the Schools, were but of ſmall uſe to it; they ſought after ſanctity more then ſcience. But when the Pope began to encroach upon the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, he began by ſubſtracting from their autority Monaſteries, which being weary of the vigilance of their Prelates, were wrapt with joy of having none that ſhould examine their actions.

That they might not ſeem unworthy of Popes new favor, they began to make head againſt their Biſhops, to ſtudy Decretals, aſpire to Scholarſhip, and change their ignorance into a demi-ſcience, which hath brought ſo many evils upon the Church.

And indeed, ſince they have bin extremely faithful to the Pope. Of nine Divines which he ſent to the Council of *Trent*, ſeven were Monks. The Holy Father requires not them to defend his rights by good arguments, by reading the Fathers, or ſtudying learned Languages, but only to clamor and cry out. They are

not engaged to prove, that those who deny the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, are Heretics, but to *spread abroad* that they are Heretics. In the affairs of the five Propositions, and the magnificent Formulary of *Alexander* the Seventh, the *Jesuits* ne're put themselves to the trouble, of shewing that the five Propositions were in *Jansenius*, but only clamor'd that they were there. They thought not themselves obliged to demonstrate, the Pope had power to exact the signature of the Formulary, but only bark'd all about, that those that subscribed not to it were worse then Arians.

XXXVI.

There are in *France* fifty thousand Monks at least; the greater part are Preachers and Confessors, that is, people that bear relation to all places of the Kingdom. Doth any write against Religion or manners, maintain the most scandalous Principles in the World, and the most opposite to those of the Gospel, there is not one that appears to defend either. But if any speak against the usurpation of the Pope, *then the Theaters, streets,*

streets, public places, private houses, and palaces of the Grandees, are full of Monks, that cry with open mouth *that Heresy hath infected the whole World.* Had *Charles* the Fifth, who aspired to the universal Monarchy, used this means, he had infallibly succeeded. The best policy in the World, is to have in all Kingdoms thirty thousand Agents who have influence on an infinite number of Persons, and are maintain'd at so small a rate by him that employes them.

XXXVII.

The Church of *England* is therefore in the right to reject such Friers as they are now. King *Henry* the Eighth knew that with them, it was impossible a King could be master of his own Estate, and a Bishop rule his Church. And these two things being equally necessary to the repose and welfare of a Nation, this action of his is not to be condemn'd.

XXXVIII.

In banishing Friers, the Holy Church

of *England* hath banished at the same time all those novelties wherewith they abused the credulity of People, indulgencies, reliques, fraternities, and all that which is commonly taken for a true piety. She hath substituted in their place, praier, reading of the Gospel, preaching, and generally all that may conduce to the converting the heart. Her design in it is not to draw after her a multitude of Women *loaden with sins, who alwaies learn and are never instructed*, but to establish in her Sons such things as are solid and durable. In primitive times all these waies were unknown; true piety decreasing, the Friers thought it sufficient to substitute in its stead an appearance of it. The holy Church of *England* beleived she ought to deal quite otherwise for the welfare of Christians, and that she was obliged to endeavour to render them like those of the golden age, as much as that of Iron wherein we live would permit.

XXXIX.

Of all practices of antiquity there is none so venerable as the manner of sanctifying

ſtifying the Lords day. The holy Church of *England* celebrates it with an admirable piety. Saint *Auguſtine* believed that it was leſs criminal to till the ground, then to dance on this day. Both the one and the other is equally forbidden in *England*. Plaies, Balls, pleaſures, journies, are things not ſo much as to be mentioned.

X. L.

The Church of *England* limits not it ſelf at the ſanctifying of the Lords day. She hath divers other daies to excite the piety of her ſons; and thoſe are the feſtivals inſtituted in honour of the moſt glorious mother of God and the Saints. As this cuſtome is very antient in the Church, and a man cannot open the writings of the Fathers without finding marks of it, ſhe thought it fit to preſerve religiouſly ſuch obſervances.

By this the Church makes to appear the union of her body in what ſtate ſoever her members be. By this ſhe gives glory to the grace of Chriſt, who hath workt in them all theſe things. By this ſhe brings Chri-

Christians to follow the examples she proposeth them, and to beleive that nothing is impossible to Christians, "*who in the flesh walk not after the flesh.*

She takes care then that the People read their lives and the preachers make their Elogies, and that both the one and the other endeavour to imitate them.

By this also may be seen her moderation. She runs not into the excess of those furious and unreasonable men, that will not hear the very naming of a Saint; nor yet degenerates to the invoking of them as in the Church of *Rome*, but equally avoids impiety as superstition.

XLI.

The like moderation appears in respect of Images. She judgeth it a crime to adore them, to bend the knee before them, and sticks not to call this *Idolatry*. But she beleives not Idolaters those that only retaint them.

XLII.

She hath with no less wisdom retain'd

" *Rom.* 3. 1.

Eccleſi-

Eccleſiaſtical habits, and ceremonies neceſſary to Divine worſhip. Her Canons are extream ſevere for the firſt of theſe. She knows a Prieſt hath nothing to do with the World; and that he muſt underſtand, he is even outwardly ſeparated from it.

For the ſecond, ſhe hath retrenched all the profane pomp of the Church of *Rome*, but hath avoided the frightful nakedneſs which appears on the other ſide. Her ceremonies have neither the appearance of Grandeur, nor affected baſeneſs. In the Cathedrals & Collegiate Churches may be ſeen whatever can excite the Piety of People to praiſe God. But nothing which occaſions to ſay, that the luxury and vaniety of the World is brought into the ſanctuary.

XLIII.

There remains but one thing, at which the Church of *Rome* is offended altogether as unjuſtly as in many others, that is, *the marriage of Prieſts.*

Sure *Celibacy* is a moſt holy, exemplary, and upon many occaſions a neceſſary thing

thing. Twere to be wish'd that those who are call'd to the ministry of Angels, had their purity; and that it might be said of them *neq; nubunt neq; nubuntur*: but being made of flesh as well as spirit, of flesh subject to the infirmities of other men, the remedy God has ordain'd, and so highly recommended in the Scripture, must not be denied them.

The Church of *Rome* hath never look't upon *Celibacy* but as an Ecclesiastical law. This opinion is maintain'd & taught publickly every day in *Sorbon*. The obligation thereunto is imposed as a point of Discipline that hath no relation to Faith.

Now the Church is absolutely mistress of whatever is of Ecclesiastical right. She may introduce, continue, change, what, and as she judgeth expedient.

The holy Church of *England* hath thought fit to alter this point in her Discipline. She hath weighed all the circumstances, seen all the inconveniences, considered the good and evil that may accrue thereby. It hath not appear'd that she ought to lay a yoke on the necks of such as have not grace enough to bear it. And she hath promis'd her self that those

those to whom hath bin granted a sufficient measure, would endeavor to increase and multiply it.

Nor hath she bin deceiv'd in so judicious a conduct: she hath the glory to see the greater part of her Bishops and Clergy like to the great Apostle, and at the same time the consolation to know, that the others live in their houses in such sort, as to be the examples of all Christian Families.

I cannot see what answer a moderate person can give to this reasoning. For to return to the Pope, and to say that this cannot be done without his consent, because *he is master of the whole discipline*, is a miserable reason, and no Church of the Roman Communion, but that of *Italy*, will ever assent unto it.

XLIV.

The Clergy of *England* is generally the most Learned in the World: and if the common people retain something of the natural dulness of the vulgar, it hath nothing of the ignorance. This must be ascrib'd to the care and capacity of their

Teachers, and above all to the famous Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. These are two Seminaries of Virtue and Science. There may be found whatever can be desired, for greatness of Revenues, magnificence of Buildings, and infinite number of Books, collected with incredible expences and care, during several Ages. Clergy-men are there for many years before they are entrusted with the care of souls. They pass from the studies of humane Arts and Sciences to that of Divinity, and the Oriental Languages. Their Professors are endow'd with all the abilities that can be expected from men, who besides vast natural parts, have born the burden and heat of the day.

The Bishops are not such as those whom Monsieur *D'Espences* calls *Barbatulos Juvenes*, who in so sacred and high dignity as Episcopacy, are not yet free from the passions of the World. Their zeal for the salvation of souls, their punctual visiting their Dioceles, their charity to the poor, their hospitality, their fidelity to the King, and their love for their Country, are qualities they are so much

much owners of, as their greatest enemies cannot but admire them.

We do not hereby pretend, that all those whom they govern are saints. It is to be acknowledg'd with a sensible grief, that in the Church of *England* are too too many *who treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath*, and live after such a manner as is little conformable to that which they have promised in their Baptism.

But we must not conceive from thence an ill opinion of a Church, which hath nothing in her but what is most holy. If we should judg of the Romish Church by those disorders which have crept into the very Sanctuary, what conclusion might there be drawn? This cannot be done without opposition to the Judgment of God, *who hath left the wicked in the midst of the good*, and hath permitted the number of the latter to be less then that of the former, for reasons best known to himself. It is a secret of his Justice and Mercy, which shall not be manifested till the last day.

The dross is in the same furnace with the gold, that is consumed, and that purified and embellish'd by the fire. There is much more dross than gold, but it suffereth that the workman know them.[1]

In a word, there is not one that considers the Church of *England* without prejudice, but does at the same time admire the sanctity, moderation and wisdom of her conduct. A Christian will find there, that the veneration which is given the Scripture, excludes not the esteem which is due to the Church, nor the esteem paid to the Church any way extenuate the soveraign obedience due to the Scriptures. He will see that she practiceth nothing but what the Primitive Times have done, and that she leaves nothing unpractised but what those happy ones ne'r knew. He will compassionate a vast number of people so miserably abused in the Church of *Rome*: and when he shall have had a clearer inspection into this of ours, calumniated from without by the Jesuists, from within by such of her Children as have

[1] *Aug. ser. de dedicat. Bell.*

not

not perfectly submitted themselves to her orders, he will say with those that fell from the party of *Donatus*, *Nesciebamus hic esse veritatem, nec eam discere volebamus. Nos falsis rumoribus terrebamur intrare; quos falsos esse nesciremus, nisi intraremus. Gratias Deo qui expertos docuit, quam vana & falsa de Ecclesia sua mendax fama jactaverit.*

FINIS.

REFLEXIONS.

REFLEXIONS

On the

Council of TRENT.

By *H. C. de LUZANCI*, Deacon of the Church of *England*, and M. of *Arts* of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*.

διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας, ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς. 2 Cor. 6. 8.

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